

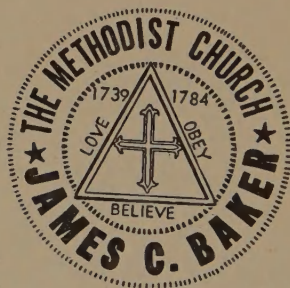
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Japanese Traits
and Foreign Influences

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
TO
MY WIFE
CONSTANT HELPMET
IN
SORROW AND HAPPINESS

圖之御渡殿



祭嘗大古近



[Front.]

JAPANESE CORONATION.

Japanese Traits
and Foreign Influences

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BY

INAZO NITOBÉ

*Professor in the Imperial University
of Tokyo*

WITH A COLOURED FRONTISPIECE

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PREFACE

As must be apparent from its disconnected chapters, the present volume consists of essays and lectures prepared from time to time in the course of the last five years. They have, however, been entirely rewritten so that they betray their original form only by traces of local allusion and by the general lines of argument. Chapters I, II, V, VI, and VII were first delivered in Geneva to mixed audiences of international character; but the time usually allotted to a lecture did not allow as full a presentation as I wished to make. Chapter III is the development of an essay written for the report on the *Intellectual Life of Various Countries*, published by the League of Nations. Chapter IV was a lecture given in Stockholm under the auspices of the Swedish Japanese Society; but the comparison between the printed copy of the lecture and this chapter will show a marked difference—not indeed in idea but in the manner of treatment. Chapter VII is an enlargement of a short article primarily prepared at the request of the International League of Red Cross Societies. Finally, Chapter IX consists partly of articles contributed to the Amsterdam newspaper *De Telegraaf*.

Finding that interest in the ways and thoughts of an Oriental people is more wide-spread than the public I have been privileged to reach by the lectures, I have now collected them in their present form.

Though they were first prepared without reference to one another, being the work of one mind and treating different phases of the life and thought of one people, these attempts at interpretation will, I hope, throw some light on different angles of the selfsame subject—the Japanese Mind.

I feel under great obligation to my wife for going carefully over my manuscripts and asking questions on obscure points, and to Miss K. I. Stafford for her kind assistance in the final details connected with the issue of the book. For the original of the frontispiece, which represents the essential part of the Japanese coronation, I am indebted to Professor Sekine's studious work on the subject.

I am well aware that I have opened to English readers no new storehouse of Oriental knowledge, nor adorned an old and oft-repeated story in a way fit for amusement or instruction. My sole plea is the cultivation of a sympathetic understanding between peoples trained at opposite poles of tradition.

INAZO NITOBÉ

CANNES ON THE RIVIERA

January 28, 1927

THE CHANGING ORIENT

"Time is a sort of river of passing events, and strong is its current; no sooner is a thing brought to sight than it is swept by and another takes its place, and this too will be swept away."—*Marcus Aurelius*.

I

ABOUT five hundred years before the Christian era Heraclitus anticipated the researches of modern science by making the simple statement that "Everything flows." But some seven hundred years previously, had the Chinese in their "Yih-King" (Canon of Permutation), made an attempt to formulate in what order changes occur in nature and in history.

Whether it be in the radio activity of the tiniest molecule, or in the fate of constellations, we see the process of change going on. We live in it and by it, and without it the universe is inconceivable. History is but a record of changes and Science is a demonstration of their courses and Religion is an effort to transcend the mutations of time.

These ceaseless changes are sweeping along in all planes and spheres of existence—among the stars, the nations, poor helpless individuals. And

whosoever tries to stem this irresistible current will himself be caught in it—only to be carried on in its current, dead or alive. For self-preservation man, therefore, devises by instinct and by study means to adapt his life to this merciless movement of change. Among plants and animals we find all sorts of measures resorted to for self-protection even at the sacrifice of originality. I need only mention mimicry and imitation. When you are in Rome, do as the Romans do. Move when others move. Change as your neighbours change. This is the moral of adaptation, equally necessary for nations as for men.

In making these general remarks I wish to recall to our mind at the outset—firstly, that the Orient, too often so unreal to Western imagination and too often identified with stability and stagnancy, has been in very much the same stream of the eternal flux which has given rise to the numberless vicissitudes of Occidental history. I wish, secondly, to point out that the transformation now going on in the Far East is the logical continuation of its own historical movement, impelled by universal forces, and rendered more conspicuous by an irregular tempo that accompanies all great movements, and made more intelligible to the West because of the use of modern terminology. For the first thesis I shall take China for an illustration, and for the second Japan, for reasons to be given later.

In order intelligently to understand the past life of the Orient or read aright its present signs of the times, we must first of all divest ourselves of the

notion that two separate laws of human development operate independently on two sides of the globe, separated by the Ural Range or by whatever line one may choose to draw. I am sorry to rob the East of its picturesque glamour and quaintness, and reduce its doings to the events of a workaday matter of course.

II

There prevails in the West a general belief that the East is in its essence quiescent, conservative, stationary, absolutely lacking in innovation, and that centuries and millenia have idly glided away over the Asiatic continent and the pearly isles of the Orient in one unvaried round of torpid existence. Such an impression is created by a larger swing of the Oriental pendulum, which in turn is due to the more homogeneous character of eastern population and to the fact that many and stupendous upheavals in the East had long been consummated in the earlier stages of development and on immense scales little dreamt of by the European public. "Our European battles," says Gibbon, quoting Voltaire, "are petty skirmishes if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia."

We cannot see the growth of a plant, as it rises upward from hour to hour, because it is too slow for the naked eye. Neither can we follow the flight of a cannon ball, because it is too fast. But great historical changes can be viewed unrolling, if we detach ourselves from them and stand at a certain

point of time and space. It is equally necessary that we should know where to look for indications of change. An amateur astronomer fails, with the best of telescopes, to detect any star in the wide firmament, unless he is told where to direct his gaze.

Let us take a cultural unit larger than a state or a nation—say, not an Athens, a France, a German Empire, but a whole cultural region, an agglomeration of states, each sovereign and independent but still united by one common system of thought or language, of religion or law. In one word, take Europe and place by its side another cultural entity—say, China, which in area is somewhat larger than the whole European continent.

If we lay aside the crepuscular age of legends and the earlier periods of embryonic communities—Plato's Golden Age 9,000 years before Solon's time or Confucius' account of the reign of Yan and Shun in the third millennium B.C.—we shall see how the brilliant age of Hellenic civilisation was the European equivalent to that of the Chou dynasty in the development of Oriental culture; but in Europe the brilliant Greek age, not to restrict it to the Periclean, lasted scarcely a couple of centuries (Battle of Marathon 490—Alexander's death, 323 B.C.), whereas arts and literature prospered under the Chou dynasty for about three hundred and fifty years (1122-770 B.C.). One should not forget that "the glory that was Greece" was due to its democracy and that which was China was the fruit of a centralised rule. Nor should we forget that China covered already at that time an area several

hundred times larger than Hellas. Just as the star of Greece began to set soon after Alexander's death because of the internecine warfare among some dozen little cities of the Dorians and the Ionians, so did that of China enter its decadent career of the so-called Warring States after the removal of the capital to Lo (762 B.C.) during which the Chou Empire was split into some fifty states. As next, the mutually contending Greeks were conquered by the Romans and in a way unified (146 B.C.), so was dismembered China brought together under the Chin dynasty (250 B.C.). By a seeker of historical curiosities, there may even be discovered not a few resemblances between the treatment of the last representatives of the Chou by his Chin conqueror and of the *civitates foederatae* in Greece by the Philohellenic Roman rulers.

The removal of the seat of Government from Rome to Byzantium in 330, and, ten years later, the partition of the Empire among the three sons of Constantine, have their respective counterparts in the proud epoch of the Western (206 B.C.—25 A.D.) and the Eastern (25—214 A.D.) dynasties of Han. Is it of any edification to know that the missionary journeys of St. Paul and his arrival in Rome were synchronous with the advent of Buddhism into China in the reign of Ming Ti (58-76)? Or shall we amuse ourselves with the comparison of the building of the great wall under Huang Ti (221-209 B.C.) along the northern frontiers of China and of Hadrian's walls in North Britain one hundred years later?

As from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the fifth centuries, European history, except in the Church, is a chronicle of impotency in high places, but of virility on the part of the so-called barbarians who were soon to flood the whole of the Continent; so also is the chronicle of Tripartite China (214-223 A.D.) and that of its successor, the double kingdom of the North and South (223-590), down to the beginning of the Tang period, a stale albeit highly romantic and unprofitable page of human record. With the rise of the Tang dynasty in 618 A.D., a new era was ushered in and this so-called Golden Age of Chinese Literature lasted for a century. In European history we find nothing corresponding to the Tang period, unless we look to the continual councils for theological controversy. But from this time on the inroads of the Mongols grew more and more incessant and vehement, until in the thirteenth century the whole of China succumbed to the power of the Kublai Khan (1280), reminding us of the so-called fall of the Roman Empire in 476.

Now the section of European history which I have more or less arbitrarily chosen in the above comparison, covers a space of time from about 500 years B.C. to 476 A.D., that is roughly a millennium. It has taken the Chinese twenty-four centuries to traverse much the same span of experience; namely, from the twelfth century B.C. to the thirteenth century A.D. I do not claim for my comparison scientific precision, for, in reality, history never repeats itself, every single event of any consequence being an original process in the

well-ordered series of creative evolution. The law of progress—if there is such a phenomenon as progress—has always been suspected to work with a certain mathematical accuracy. Whether rhythmically or spirally it must follow a definite law. The recent attempts made to calculate the duration of different systems of civilisations by Professor Flinders Petrie, by Herr Spengler and his followers, are certainly opening a new line of inquiry. Professor Flinders Petrie calculates that the period of European or Mediterranean civilisation averages 1330 years, that of Mesopotamia 1520, and that of India 1800. Messrs. Goddard and Gibbons, in expounding the Spenglerian philosophy of history, give the period of civilisation as lasting 1400-1600 years. As yet, however, calculation of this kind is decidedly premature, because of the infinite number of factors that must be taken into account. It is not my purpose to offer any hint regarding the method of computing Chinese civilisation in terms of time. All that I now contend is that changes occurred in the East and that these changes, so similar in character and magnitude and sequence to those of Europe, were brought about in distantly separated regions with little communication, at the time when neither of them could be influenced by the other. There is no question of propagandism or of imitation! Was there a common cause, say a Northern or a Southern influence, for these changes in the East and the West? I very much doubt it, unless perhaps it be that in the latter phases we have considered, the migration of the Tartar hordes exercised a pressure on Europe and

Asia. Was it not Gibbon who saw in the building of the Great Wall of China, the main cause of the fall of the Roman Empire, as the Huns, driven in every direction by famine from their customary abodes in Central Asia, were debarred from entering China and so turned westward to devastate Europe? It will be a difficult task for the historian to find reciprocal relations between the West and East in events so exceedingly alike. At the same time they must not be ignored as merely accidental coincidences. The curious likeness in the succession of events can be explained by the psychological identity of the human race. The oft-repeated remark that the Orientals do everything in exactly the opposite way from the Occidentals, is true only in a very limited sphere of action and in trivial matters. Man, whether in the East or the West, acts very much in the same manner, under analogous conditions or from the same impulses, and if individuals differ greatly in many respects, large masses, say nations, behave and move, pray and sin, rise and fall, apparently by the same rule, according to the law of large numbers. A 19th century sage has said that "the beginning of all wisdom is to look fixedly on Clothes until they become transparent." He is truly wise who can see through the clothes of a man, be they of wool or cotton, of skin or flesh, be they institutional or constitutional, and discern in him, a spirit and a brother. Such discernment will furnish a key to the right understanding of universal history. Behind the discerning eye must be a sympathetic heart. It will convince us anew that the world as a whole is

under the same dispensation of universal mutation. It will enlighten us as to the real nature of the changes that have gone and are going on in far off quarters of the globe.

The parallelism in the successive events and in the main features of European and Chinese development is so striking that one would fain hold it as an evidence of historical determinism. But that is not my point. I would rather see in the parallelism indeterminism, the inconstancy of historical forces. More than that I dare not deduce. Historical analogies are usually more entertaining than really instructive. They do not go much beyond resemblances, often only accidental.

III

In studying the movements of an alien people, two cautions must be observed—firstly, to understand their temperament, and, secondly, to consider them from their own angle. Fundamentally, human nature is identical and this explains, as suggested further above, the analogous character of historical movements; but the events which form the movements assume different character according to different racial temperaments and national upbringing—perhaps also to different climates. To deny this fundamental identity, in other words, to split up general human psychology into little bits of national characteristics, as M. Le Bon does, is to look at every sprouting shoot and every rotten

timber and fail to see a forest. That is why M. Le Bon's sociological deductions so seldom turn out true. Let us stick to the basic fact of the identity of the human race. Let us at the same time make ample allowance for dissimilarities in national temperament. The Chinese perhaps offer as good an example in this respect as the Hebrews, as they are both possessed of pronounced characteristics, reinforced by long history and accentuated in the one case by a huge geographical isolation and in the other case by social exclusivism amidst unfriendly communities.

The West fails to appreciate the historical changes in China, because they do not take place, so to speak, in clear colours. The West must see either the glaring red or unmixed white. What is not red means white to them. It does not tolerate pink or yellow. Such clear-cut discrimination is necessary for a logical mind. But even among the English, notoriously unlogical as they are, sharp distinction must be made for any cause, under the name of principle, in order to enlist public sympathy. But, fortunately, the English mind is not always consistent—it is too practical for that. Hence, in putting any so-called principle into practice, all sorts of compromise are adopted, affording occasions to other peoples to revile them for "hypocrisy." They would certainly be freer of this charge, if they had not spoken of their "principle"; for "by the law is the knowledge of sin." However, even the compromising logic-hating English mind shares the general occidental weakness of rationality, and rationalisation is a

sylogistic process, prone to throw away the cornerstone when it does not fit in its little narrow space.

Such being the case, the West often fails to comprehend the reason for a movement in the East, and, even when it does, it not infrequently misses to see its significance or rightly to estimate its true value. Having a sense of colours, only when they are glaring, the West cannot detect change in continuity. Unless a change is catastrophic, revolutionary, they do not detect it. They go so far as to take pride in sudden revulsions, upheavals, regicides, destruction, as indications of the coming of "new principles."

From an unexpected quarter I have a word of confirmation on this theme. Says Pierre Laffitte,¹ Director of Positivism in his days: "The prevalent conception of progress in the West is as absurd as it is immoral. The state of disease, so far from being deplored, is hallowed: development without rule or limit is regarded as a truly normal state. This sad pathological disposition explains how it came to pass that the organic and normal development of a great civilization has been taken as a sign of inferiority by intelligences blunted by the anarchic spirit; a spirit which exercises its spell even over those who think themselves most conservative."

Laffitte's castigation of Western critics of China finds an easy explanation—and, one might add, an excuse—in the theory advanced a generation later with such eloquence by his eminent compatriot.

¹ *A General View of Chinese Civilisation*, English translation by John Carey Hall, 1887.

Monsieur Bergson has neatly demonstrated the two directions or tendencies in which consciousness, life, evolves—intelligence and interest. They represent “two divergent developments of one and the same principle, which in the one case remains within itself, in the other steps out of itself and becomes absorbed in the utilisation of inert matter.” There is a radical incompatibility between them. “That which is instinctive in instinct cannot be expressed in terms of intelligence, nor, consequently, can it be analysed.” Monsieur Bergson could have gone on to illustrate his thesis by comparing the instinctiveness of the East and the intelligence of the West. Needless to say that such comparison, if numerically attempted, can but be vague.

Intelligence is analytic. It regards “each object as divisible into parts arbitrarily cut up.” It dotes on slices and hates continuity. This peculiar function of intellect has developed in the Occident almost into an instinct, hence its taste for decomposing matter—be it an object of thought or of action. This explains the radicalism of the European mind, its love of revolution and changes, and its lack of perspective when it perceives things of long continuance. The impatience of the European mind in the sight of any lasting phenomenon is best expressed in the lines of Tennyson,—

“Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.”

The love of change has taken the American spirit in such wise that to it any change is progress

and any motion is change. Sisyphus is to it a symbol of blessing rather than of curse—and, no wonder! since Americans cannot scratch their fertile soil without raising a crop or finding a gold mine. Indeed, far from being a Sisyphus, the nation is a Midas!

In an old country like Asia, despite the still unexplored wealth, man's activity requires time for fruition. An Asiatic has no use for the minute hand on his clock. He is in no hurry. If he cannot finish the work he set out to do, his sons and grandsons will. The child of the East, and the Chinese above all, is the invulnerable and incongruous Falstaff. He explains, caterwauling, "I am old! I am old!" all the time holding Mistress Doll on his lap and courting her for busses. But only half an hour ago he said to the judge that he was old and added: "I were better to be eaten to death with rust than to be scoured to nothing with perpetual motion." This is the confession of an oriental and therein lies also his philosophy of life. He hates the circumstances of motion. He knows that changes must need go on and that they are really going on. Let them go on! Why delay or hasten them? They choose their own tempo,—only he wishes to be excused from exerting himself to contribute to this perpetual motion. Do you call this mental attitude fatalism? The answer depends on the definition you give to fatalism. If it implies the utter impotence and disregard of the human will, No. If it is but an older way of saying the "divine dispensation" or "the reign of law," Yes.

No movement in an alien people is intelligible unless we enter into their mind and study it from within, and with sympathy. A kindly heart sees more than a hundred pairs of critical and a thousand pairs of suspecting eyes. An American author, Mr. H. W. Wright, in his kindly and thoughtful book,¹ has coined a happy term—“imaginative sympathy”—which is an essential condition for the understanding of a foreign nation. It is an intelligent comprehension of another’s personal outlook and point of view. It is more effective than compassion or pity, which can be blinded, in cementing fellow-feeling between nations.

IV

A common remark that Japan accomplished in fifty years what took Europe three centuries sounds exceedingly flattering, but is true only in one sense, that our feudal system was abruptly abolished. It is said that this was done by a single stroke of the pen. But a pen did not uproot an institution, it only announced that the thing was done with. The really significant fact about it was the moral preparedness of the people, under the régime of feudalism, for something better. For centuries the nation was disciplined and, when the fulness of time came, a stroke of the pen only made known that princes and lords gave up their fiefs in order that the country might be consolidated. If I may say so,

¹*The Moral Standard of Democracy*, 1926.

the abolition of feudalism in Japan was more a "self-denying ordinance" than an act of political sagacity, and a moral action, a behaviour, is an outcome of years of training, not unusually the working of the sub-conscious mind.

The transformation of Japan in the last two generations, which took the world by surprise, was only the efflorescence of the plant which had been tenderly nurtured in the three hundred years of self-development in her isolated tranquillity. It was a century's aloe blossoming in a day. It will easily be conceded by historians that a continuous peace of three centuries is almost unparalleled in the annals of any nation. When Japan broke with the policy of seclusion and looked out upon the world, she was amazed to see floating on the opposite shores of China, a number of unfamiliar flags—the Tricolour, the Union Jack, and, nearest to her, the Double-headed Eagle. If under these flags had marched an army of artists and poets, we would have emulated them and combatted them in the field of art and literature. But when under the flags glistened swords and cannon, Japan, too, had to arm herself for sheer self-defence. Militarism was thus the first suggestion given to the East in its contact with the West. Neither the naval nor the military system of modern Japan is her own invention or innovation. They are both imitations copied from European models! She only followed the advice: "Change as the world doth change."

If, however, the transformation had consisted solely in completing military equipment from out the pacific materials collected during the happy

years of her exclusivism, it would have been an exchange of birthright for a mess of pottage. No, the transformation of Japan was wider in scope, embracing all the phases of national life, and deeper in significance, embodying the natural tendencies of a social evolution. Radical as it may seem, it is, except in one respect, a step in their orderly process of development. Take for the most apparent example, the changes in our costume. It may strike a foreigner as inexplicable why the Japanese are giving up their national costume, so well adapted to their physique, taste, climate and mode of living, and are adopting European clothes. To find a cause for this in imitation or mimicry is not sufficient. There was a far more justifiable reason for sartorial revolutions among us than among the English in the seventeenth century. We have been in the habit of changing our *kimono* every two or three centuries. Compare the costume of the sixteenth century with that of the fourteenth, or of the twelfth with that of the tenth—it is high time that a new fashion came into vogue. As the time for such a change approached, we were suddenly confronted with a cheap supply of machine-made goods from the West—why should we not avail ourselves of it? This utilitarian reason has gained considerable force since the time of the great earthquake of 1923. The change of costume is typical of other and greater changes.

Imagine the Renaissance, the Discovery of America and the Industrial Revolution, all three events coming together suddenly upon an unsophisticated land, and you can get some idea

of the intellectual and social upheaval of Japan. Renaissance may mean the revival of the classics of the country; it may mean the introduction of a New Learning from abroad. In either sense the term can be applied to the effect of our contact with the West. There is something intoxicating in a New Learning: it upsets mental equipoise; it provides new standards of value. If it were not for the revival of our Old Classics, the country would have plunged into a pandemonium of impossible theories "made in Germany, America, or Russia." As things now stand, the fight between the traditional and what are called the "dangerous" doctrines, is fairly divided, but the future will incline towards the dangerous side.

Columbus' demonstration of the rotundity of the earth was dangerous to ecclesiastical authority, and, sure enough, his discovery of America dealt a heavy blow to the established tenets of the Church, but it opened to Europe an entirely new world, vast in extent and fertile in products. So, among us, commercial and diplomatic intercourse with the West has brought to our doors the treasures, old and new, material and immaterial, of the Teuton, the Slav and the Celt. Commodities of foreign origin soon came into general use in increasing quantities, much to our unfavourable balance of trade. In consequence, home industries were started on a scale undreamt of in the time of seclusion, equipped and managed according to the latest European methods, thus creating conditions to be compared with those prevailing in the days of the Industrial Revolution. Add to these factors of pregnant

change the wide spread of education, the introduction of a constitutional government, the adoption of universal suffrage—and one who runs can read the signs of the times. It is only natural that change should be more swift and intensive in Japan than in China, because our country is so much smaller in area and population and also because the government is better organised. Some of these changes are mere shiftings in locality, transportation of things and theories, notions and fancies from the West. Others are alterations in outward forms, effected in the manners and customs of the people—transformation in the mechanism of living. But the deepest of the changes is to be observed in ideas and ideals, in the quality of thought. So that one is tempted to call it transmutation. Transportation is a matter of trade and communications, transformation comes largely from common sense and government policy, while transmutation is a result of study and reflection. The first is a matter of passive acceptance; the second may be no more than imitation. But the third process is an act of will beginning in the soul of each individual human being.

If I understand aright, the indications as afforded in our contemporary literature and the actions of our pioneers of the coming age, the process of spiritual renovation in Japan mean the discovery and growth of the sense of personality. Thanks directly to the influence of Anglo-Saxon literature, and primarily to Christianity, the idea of personality—which is not to be confused with individualism—the idea that each individual of never so low an

origin is none the less a free and independent being equal with the highest—this sense of Personality marks the highest crest of the waves that have been incessantly rolling over the Orient. Personality was sadly lacking in the scheme of Eastern thought, and yet, without it, is an idea of moral responsibility possible? And in the absence of a sense of personal responsibility, can there be any development of character?

Loyalty to the Emperor, obedience to the law, love of country, politeness and all social amenities of life, are certainly valuable and beautiful as traits of character; but after all they have regard only to the outer relations of life. Man's real concerns are the deeper issues of the spirit. More so than political revolutions or social reforms, that change is the most vital that raises the conception of man above that of subject and until the citizen is elevated to the status of Person, all the cry for democracy fades into an empty sound. It is this change in his innermost part which makes of a two-legged creature a Man. The perfection and goal of such a process is transfiguration. Such a change is now going on under your very eyes in the Far East.

SOME TRAITS OF ORIENTAL MENTALITY

I

IN the study of the mentality of the East in comparison with that of the West, two features present themselves for more or less detailed consideration, namely, the inferior position held by the sense of Personality and the commanding rôle played by the faculty of Perception.

By the sense of Personality, I mean the consciousness that below or above all differences in worldly possessions, bodily favours and intellectual gifts, there is in each man something which forms the essence of his being, making him distinct from but equal to any other man. Monsieur Bergson tersely defines it as Self-Consciousness.¹ The ancient Delphic oracle hinted it when it gave as the highest precept the injunction: "Know thyself" (*Gnothi se auton*). Nor did the Hindoo and Chinese thinkers ignore this fundamental theme of philosophy and ethics. But in Europe, not until Christianity made some advance in philosophising was it treated with any degree of perspicuity. The definition of *Person* given by Boethius, as "the individual substance"² of

¹ McDowall defines Personality as the self-expression of the individual. *Evolution and the Need of Atonement*, 1914, p. 79.

² Boethius, *Against Eutyches and Nestorius* (English translation by Stewart and Rund) III. A recent writer prefers "subsistence" to "substance" (Webb, *God and Personality*, p. 85), but on this point Boethius himself dwells with some care.

a rational nature" (*Persona est naturae rationabilis individua substantia*) has been generally accepted alike by the schoolmen and modern theologians. Thanks to Augustine and Luther, this abstruse subject has been rendered more or less comprehensible to ordinary minds. In their effort to explain the doctrine of the Trinity and of original sin, Christian theologians bored deep into the substratum of human consciousness, and if they did not unearth the subconscious bedrock, they could unravel somewhat of the mystery of Personality.

This mystery once unveiled never so imperfectly, and its essence grasped, never so incompletely, logical conclusions were drawn, establishing the independence of spirit, the equality of man, his rights and responsibility, the freedom of the individual and all the rest of those tenets which are so dear to the European mind. So dear to the European mind? Is the Asiatic mind indifferent to Liberty, Independence, Equality, and Freedom? No, only in the East they were reached by a different route, as we shall see later on. In the meantime, we may consider what place the subject of Personality filled in the great systems of Chinese and Hindu thought. When Confucius (551-479 B.C.) said: "I grieve not that others do not know me: I grieve rather that I do not know myself," he stood before the temple of Delphi, but with his usual reluctance to metaphysics he made no endeavour to open it, nor even to knock at its portals.

There are many passages in Chinese classics, notably in Mencius and later in Wan Yang Ming, reiterating that "man is man" whether he wear a

beggar's gabardine or a kingly robe. Such proverbial expressions were current as "He, too is man—and so am I," "Between him and me there's not difference enough for a hair to go in." But usually the implications were didactic, exhorting on the emulation of correct living and beneficent deeds. Why was it that the idea of Personality stopped short of a fuller metaphysical analysis? One reason has already been hinted, namely, the absence of Christianity, and yet when we reflect that the controversy on the nature of the soul, so hotly debated between the Augustinians and the Pelagians in the 5th century, had been fought some eight centuries previously between the schools of Mencius (372-319 B.C.) and Hsün Tzu (340-220 B.C.)¹ one might have expected that the continuation of the controversy (for it was not conclusively fought out) would have brought about in China a better estimate of the value of Personality. But in the East the theoretical aspect of the question was detached from the practical, and assumed a coldly supernal tone, while in the West it divided the Church into two camps, each of which brought all their religious fervour and acrimony into the balance. Then there was still another reason why the question was not consistently pursued in the East. As Personality means Self-hood, Self-ness, there is every temptation on the one hand to identify it with Egotism, with Individualism of the lowest grade, and every

¹Mencius upheld the innate goodness, and Hsün Tzu the inborn depravity of human nature. An attempt was made in the eighth century by Han Yü, to reconcile the two theories by an affirmation that some souls are innately good, some innately evil and others compounded of both.

danger on the other of furnishing a pretext to social disorder and political revolt. As long as human personality is discussed with particular reference to the divine, in terms of religion, there is the redeeming feature of the proudest potentate prostrating himself as "a worm of the dust," and hence the immediate practical issues are not so much to be apprehended as when the meanest caitiff could claim absolute equality with kings and prophets, restrained by no spiritual scruple.

If thus the sages of China have failed to imbue the doctrine of Personality in the general consciousness of her people, not much better did the teachers of Hindu religions succeed. Buddhist thinkers dipped deeper into the mysteries of existence and saw visions of its magnificent potentialities. They studied Self-hood from every angle, as with a microscope, to detect the details of its construction, then with a telescope, to contemplate the ME projected on a heavenly scale. The Great ME alone is worth man's struggle to attain, while the actual Little ME, being of the earth and earthy, it is beneath the dignity of a soul to be cumbered with it. The negation of Self, the non-ego even, did not escape their scrutiny. I daresay that European science will have very far to travel before it can catch up with the intuitive discoveries made by Hindu seers in the occult regions of our Being. When Buddha proclaimed: "In the heavens and the earths I alone am worthy," he announced the apotheosis of Self. An expression current among the Zen sect, "A body unencumbered with a filament of thread," refers to Personality pure and simple.

Listen to the following dark saying of a Japanese Buddhist which is reputed to be the epitome of all Buddhist knowledge on human existence, and one feels that Self is the only clear consciousness in the vast dimness of space and time. Says he:—

“ In the darkest of nights,
 As I hear a raven that does not caw,
 I yearn for him
 Who was my parent before ever I was born.”

Strange thoughts floating about in the empyrean sphere of imagination out of the reach of ordinary mortals. In this little verse we have the essential categories for philosophical contemplation. The first line gives a notion of a limitless space, the second hints an existence of unstirred life or potential movement, and the fourth conveys you back to aeons past, and in the third sits a man brooding, thinking. But the oriental man is not a Cartesian. The way which he pursues in quest of peace and truth is not cogitative but intuitive. He thinks—but not in the dialectics current in Western philosophy. He aims to penetrate the stratum of phenomenal existence, beyond the region accessible to reason and language, that he might perceive what lies in the depth of his being. And in this severely introspective process, Personality is absorbed in the Great Whole of Reality and Self is swallowed up in the infinite Being, a poor mortal individual being left like an empty corpse behind. Man is thus conceived as a small part of the Great Whole—call it a Universe—a part no larger than a worm, yet no smaller than a world, and as related to All by the common laws of Life and Causation.

The suppressed personality is, as it were, dispersed and finds lodgement in the world around it. Consciousness departs from the individual and enlivens the objects within its sphere. Far from losing its own proper existence, the soul attains a higher, namely—Cosmic Consciousness; and when this state of spiritual expansion is reached, it can view all forms of life as one. Such a soul rejoices at the joys of an opening bud, saddens at the withering of the autumn foliage, sings with birds and croaks with frogs, shines with constellations and wriggles with a worm. Biology is seeing this great truth as in a glass darkly, when it expounds the theory of Symbiosis. St. Francis of Assisi shows his oriental proclivity, probably to be traced through Catharism and Manichæanism to Buddhistic influence, when he calls a flower or a bird sister, a star or stone brother, and speaks of Brother Sun and Sister Moon, Brother Mountain, Sister River. It is this conception of cosmic consciousness which lies at the root of Oriental art, and it will explain why portrait painting made no advance but also why pictures of landscapes, flowers and even of inanimate objects, have a symbolic and spiritual quality quite foreign to Western art.

II

The faint grasp of Personality—what I am tempted to call De-personalization—has been extremely disastrous in its practical consequences to the well-being of Oriental humanity and detri-

mental to its social progress. It enfeebled the most distinctive attribute of the human spirit, namely, his will-power and his individuality. When Self is conceived as nothing more than a series of physico-psychical phenomena, there is no place left for volition, unless volition is identified with desire. It deprives man of confidence in himself. It thwarts his thoughts and curbs his actions. It kills invention in the bud and clips the wings of imagination. It makes impossible the real appreciation of liberty and freedom, of equality and social justice. De-personalize a man and the value of life itself dwindles into nothing. Moral judgment becomes distorted and its criterion grows artificial. There can be conceived no greater harm to character building than a decimation of personal responsibility. In fact, the sense of responsibility is unthinkable without that of Personality. Asia is not a soil for forceful character to grow—at least at present. The political fiasco of the Asiatic peoples is the logical outcome of the disparagement of Self-hood, and when one speaks of the renovation of that continent through the Gospel of Christ, one must mean, above all, His other teachings, the reverence of the personality of man and God.

Japan, which fares better politically than the continent of Asia, is by no means immune from the same virus of De-personalization. Coming under the influence of Chinese ethics and Hindu religion, she shared the fatal effect of their precepts. Why, then, has Japan alone, of all Asiatic nations, politically held her own? Our political success is

a result of the matter-of-fact feature of our national psychology: and to this feature is due the wise uses we have made of our very weakness. I refer particularly to that plasticity of De-personalization which works for unity and imitation. Where insistence upon one's opinion is not strong, concession and unity are within easy attainment. I am reminded of a conversation I had with Mr. George Kenman, a well-known American journalist, who came to Japan at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. To my enquiry which of our leading men struck him as the ablest, he gave this answer: "I know very well by this time all your leading men. I confess none of them by himself impressed me as great. I also know what you are doing and you are doing a great thing, so there must be great men somewhere." I have brooded over this significant remark, and I have come to the conclusion that our achievements are due not to towering figures who lead us, but to an impersonal collective entity—a sort of corporation, consisting of mediocrities. When an English authoress spoke of the Japanese delegation in the League of Nations Assembly "as rows and rows of Japanese: for they are no good by ones"—her word must be taken for more than a passing joke. Yet how strangely near this sense of strength in union comes to Matthew Arnold's definition of Democracy as "a force in which the concert of a great number of men makes up for the weakness of each man taken by himself."

The rise of Japan, dating from the Restoration of 1868, is due primarily to a strong and well-manœuvred national unity on the one hand, and on

the other a quick adjustment to the material superiority of Western civilisation. The first of these measures was rendered easy by the impersonal quality of our mentality, and the second by the subtlety of our perception and discrimination which characterize real imitation. There is no denying that a policy of unity, even at the cost of independence of spirit, may at certain crises be the wisest to follow: but how far it falls of the ideal community which should follow full development of personality in fellowship! Unity is not an end in itself, much less uniformity. They have each its uses and times for its uses. We must guard ourselves against the illusion that emergency measures may be the rule for normal conditions. When under emergency there is not enough gold in a treasury, paper may be used for money; but suppose you go on printing assignats, greenbacks, kronen and roubles! When unity is the chief thing needed, as was the case with us a few decades ago, we could well afford to take advantage of impersonalism: but it is a fatal mistake when educationists rely upon this weakness in our mentality as a substantial foundation on which national greatness can be reared. The blinded government and the blindly following educationists take little note of Personality. Instead of teaching boys to be good men, they have required them to be "loyal subjects" and "patriotic citizens," as though there were no duties or virtues other and higher than patriotism and loyalty. Instead of teaching girls to be good women, they have required them to be "good wives" and "wise mothers," as though women have no duties except

to their husbands and children. Little have our educators known that they were dealing with persons, souls come "trailing clouds of glory from God who is their home." The Great War has, however, mercilessly shattered the fetish of De-personalization. Man in the East will now come to his birthright of personality.

Throughout my discourse I am afraid I have used rather loosely some terms which modern psychology has defined with a good deal of precision. Perhaps in several places where I said "personality" a term of smaller extension, say the self-complex, should be substituted. It may well be contended that as in the universe there is never an increase or decrease of energy—so there is no diminution or enhancement of personality in the microcosm, and what looks so to us is only a displacement, a canalization—repression in one complex (in our case the self), producing disproportionate development in another; for instance, the herd instinct. It is evident that Patriotism, Loyalty, Family solidarity are all manifestations of the herd instinct, which reaches its perfection in a composite personality.

III

De-personalization, though its disadvantages are redeemed more or less by the fuller development of herd instincts, finds its greatest compensation in what I consider the chief trait of Oriental mentality, namely, the faculty of Perception.

I wish I could give more convincing proofs of the high degree of the perceptual power which the oriental mind has developed, than my own limited observations. I hope that some day definite psychological and physiological and perhaps anatomical data will become available to demonstrate this point.¹

Perception is primarily the awareness of something, an immediate sensation, cognition and recognition of an object, and is largely a sensory response to an outside stimulus. As such it is a passive and receptive feat of the mind, to be likened to the action of a mirror when it reflects an object; but the term Perception, has wider significance. Perhaps it was his oriental predilection which made Schopenhauer say: "Perception is not only the source of all knowledge, but is itself knowledge. It is the only unconditionally true, genuine knowledge completely worthy of the name. For it alone imparts insight properly so called, it alone is actually assimilated by man, passes into his nature, and can with full reason be called his; while the conceptions merely cling to him."

When oriental artists—notably the Japanese—painted birds in flight or fish leaping out of water in a pose which instantaneous photography has shown to be absolutely correct, they may be said to have obtained knowledge which scientists attain after laborious observations. The Altai Mongols have always been famed for their quickness of sight and

¹ I wonder what Keyserling means by "physiological sensitiveness" (*Reisebuch eines Philosophen*, p. 583)—whether he entertains the same doubt I have.

hearing. The mental test made with several thousand Japanese children born in America invariably proved their marked superiority in visual acuity. Few exercises of the mind are so genuinely true and original as Perception. Any form of borrowing or following is precluded from it. It therefore makes ample amends for mistakes which Imitation may make. Perception is far from unerring: but errors committed by it are best discovered and corrected by itself.

Indeed Imitation—or call it rather Selection or perhaps better still Utilization, as Keyserling suggests,¹ is an integral part of Perception. Perception is, as Monsieur Bergson has neatly demonstrated, “a choice of images,” a selection from among the myriad objects with which our senses come in contact. An injudicious choice of a pattern is a mere aping: an indiscriminate choice is a mere copying. The primitive tribes of America copied white men in drinking fire-water and have done themselves to death. Many African natives imitated the Europeans in the use of firearms and have shot down each other. Certainly America and Europe have better things to offer for appropriation. It is possible only for the rightly-perceiving to select what is worth adopting.

If Imitation is favoured by de-personalization, it is easy to see why imitation is an efficient factor of social cohesion. One in a million thinks; one in a thousand speaks; the rest follow—this is the rule of

¹The German word I translated here is *Ausnutzer* in Keyserling, *Das Reisebuch eines Philosophen*, Bd. II., p. 671. The term may also be rendered exploiter.

conformity, alas! also of uniformity. Custom is imitation. Democracy is conformance. Civilisation itself as usually understood is not much more. What an awful waste of energy it would be for each nation or each generation to be obliged to discover and invent everything it uses! Where would the boasted Teutonic civilisation be, if it had not imitated the Celts in the manifold arts of their La Tène culture, the Romans in writing, the Greeks in thinking, the Arabians, thanks to Pope Gerbert, in counting and the Natharenes in religion? The least imitative people are the North American Indians and their fate is sealed. We learn from Congreve that

“ All we ought, or can, in this dark State
Is, what we have admired to imitate.”

The vital questions for oriental peoples are, therefore, these:—Do they admire the right pattern? Are they judicious in following it? On the answer to these questions will depend their future. And the answer is found in De-personalization and Perception.

IV

Not only in contemplative life, not only in the mental attitude to reality, (but in practical and political progress, yes even in economic and democratic advancement of Eastern peoples, the two traits I have mentioned are of utmost significance. Of De-personalization I have already treated at some length. Of Perception, we may remark that

there is in it a spark of divine Intuition. Intuition is a gift vouchsafed to a favoured few even in the East, where seers and sages have looked to it for inspiration and wisdom. The rank and file must be content with Perception, which lacks the fire and depth of Intuition but is still akin to it, even as a candle-light is akin to the blazing Vesuvius or to the lightning flash. Intuition is of the spirit and beyond the reaches of reason: Perception is of the mind, working through the flesh. It is a peculiarity of Perception that it furnishes "the unproved" foundation of proofs. It is not material images that quickly enter into the consciousness of the Oriental; for he rarely errs in discerning super-sensuous relations also.¹ What we really see in the things we perceive is their significance.

Our so-called poems are ridiculously short, composed of no more than thirty-one syllables. There is even a shorter and more popular form called *haiku*, consisting of only seventeen syllables. They generally express some simple sentiment, or describe a flower or a bird; but why do people laugh or weep over them unless they catch a thought that eluded the poet's pen?

I have often heard peasants as well as University

¹"The sensations which lie at the basis of all perceptions are subjective signs of external objects. . . . Helmholtz has occasion to point out that the multiplicity of the optical signs which we use is such that we need not be surprised at the variety and complexity of the news which they give us. The elementary signs of language are only 24 letters. If out of the 24 letters we can get the whole of literature and science, the 250,000 optic nerve fibres can be relied on for an even richer and more finely graded knowledge." Ogden and Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, p. 176.

professors hum the well-known *haiku*, a lyric epigram, as one Englishman calls it:

“ Into an old pond
Leaps a frog, splashing loud
The stagnant water.”

What do they see in it? Perhaps the peasant was reminded of a personal experience of being disturbed in his sleep by the noise in a pool near his cottage. Perhaps the professor was thinking of the old capitalistic society badly bespattered by the trades unions plunging with vehemence into its equanimity! Each perceives something in the verse according to his own light. Why do they enjoy pictures consisting of a few simple lines, unless they see the parts omitted by the artist's brush? Does not a tail suffice to call to their mind a cow? A few fugitive petals speak to them of flowers in their splendour and of the envious wind raging among them. To a sensitive soul, “the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.” It is Perception, or perhaps pre-Perception, which makes him so sensitive—sometimes to a ridiculous degree—to outside circumstances, to his *milieu*. He comes in contact with men, and at once he feels whether they are his friends or foes. He enters a room and he senses a congenial or uncongenial atmosphere. He hears a sound, and its tone is ominous or auspicious. He learns of an event, and it augurs ill or well. He admires the eloquence of a speaker by the silence of his tongue. He gauges the depth of his companion's heart by the silly things he says. He sympathizes with sorrows that are carefully omitted

from a conversation. No appeal touches him more than the simple phrase "*Ossashi-are*" (Please guess the rest). With his diffuse personality, his feelings can flow out to others with more ease, though he may not show them. *Einfühlen*—to feel into, or Empathy, as psychologists name it. There is a power whereby we apprehend more than comprehend the outward things of life and their inner meaning, and whereby we adjust our conduct to the varying moods of our surroundings. Here also is an explanation of the proverbial politeness of the Japanese in their social life and of the guiding principle of their diplomacy. Herein likewise is to be found the reason why the sense of personal right, of liberty and equality, individual responsibility, which sounds so Western, was felt and followed—not as a doctrine but as a sentiment, not as a political theory but as a moral duty. Ethical philosophers would dub us with a long epithet, Perceptual Intuitionists!

Nearly all perception is accompanied by an emotional reaction, and perception has been called blind for the very reason that emotions have been charged with the same failing. If emotions want the faculty of sight, they do possess the power of vision. So cool a logician as David Hume has said: "Reason is and ought to be the slave of the passions, and never can pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them."

V

Before I pass on to the question how Perception, from being a mere receptive faculty, comes to play

its part as a motive force in social and political activities, let me pause for a moment to dwell on the relation between perception and ancestor worship, by which is meant the reverential remembrance of the dead. It is one of the most valuable contributions of Monsieur Bergson to metaphysics to show that "these two acts, perception and recollection, always impenetrate each other, always exchanging something of their substance as by a process of endosmosis."¹ There is no doubt that separate and different as the two acts are, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the cultivation of the one helps in the development of the other. Perception inborn or acquired can be quickened by constant turning of the mind to the scenes and actions of the past. It is true that memory is exercised by Western peoples, by concentrating the mind on other subjects than their forbears. Only in the latter form of recollection, the whole person and not merely the intellect, is brought into full play, bringing with it activities in other fields—pre-eminently in morals and to a lesser extent in politics. The past is brought to the present. The dead are resuscitated from the grave. Soul communes with soul as in bodily presence. It is natural to look upon perception, which is a faculty most intimately concerned with the present, as only distantly related with imagination. Foreign pedagogues, who have experience with Japanese children, have observed that they are rather weak in this mental gift. Though the observation is not conclusive it may

¹ *Matter and Memory*, English translation, p. 72. Also *Mind Energy*, pp. 136, 137.

well be true. Admitting that it is so, can we not still detect in the exercise of reverent memory, a power that can lift perception on the wings of imagination or widen its field into the endless regions for exploration? While memory binds the living to the dead, her twin sister, Perception, should draw the living no less to the living, by arousing the sentiment of Empathy. By this you put yourself in your neighbour's place: you feel either Sympathy or Antipathy as the case may be. Is he in chains—you not only grieve for him, but feel an impulse to free him. Is he down-trodden—you would raise him. Is he denied his dues—you would see justice done. Indeed psychologists tell us that the motor response to perception acts with such rapidity, that unless it encounters inhibition, the two are hard to distinguish. Even inhibition itself may assume a moral character, as when a conqueror ceases to pursue his conquest because he feels the sorrows of the vanquished foe. The strong who insists on his strength is a brute. A samurai has always been defined as a man who knows the sadness of things. Pity should move him to take up the burden of the weak. For the justification of democracy you need not dive into the theory of divine rights of kings or of the social contract; but you are simply impelled by a voice from within. You must feel yourself to be one with the people.

Why is it that in so many democracies of the West, there is so little equality and liberty—not to mention fraternity? In a country that boasts most of these blessings, one finds them least. Is not the simple reason this—that the so-called democracy is

conceived as a political institution, a paper constitution, with no moral foundation? There is something revolting to our moral nature to base, or agitate for, the principle of popular rights on the reluctance to pay taxes. The high-sounding watchword Equality signifies, as an English publicist says, an abominable desire for "equal ability to do injury." In the highest court of justice, Religion, only those actions are given meeds of honour that spring spontaneously—notwithstanding the ingenuity of Spinoza, who would have neither of them—from pity and compassion. With Schopenhauer we believe that "true virtue proceeds from knowledge of perception or intuitive knowledge; for only those actions which are directly called forth by this, and therefore are performed purely from the impulse of our own nature, are properly symptoms of our true and unalterable character."

Thus the Oriental also comes by a short cut of Empathy to the recognition of the rights of Persons—not by philosophising with Paine or Rousseau, but through Sympathy with the suffering or Antipathy against the cruel. In the Occident it is the people who fight for their liberty and wrest it by force from the usurper. In the Orient it is the ruler who of his own accord shares it with those who had no part in it. In the West, man's life is hedged about with legal rights; in the East, it is laden with moral duties: in the latter social relations are communistic, in the former individualistic. The ideal of the European king is justice, that of the Asiatic mercy. Nietzsche is the bald confession

¹ William K. Wallace, *The Passing of Politics*, p. 91.

of Occidental mentality when he put forth the doctrines of his "Master Morality" and its contrast, the so-called "Slave Morality" of Christ is certainly oriental. The Roman Empire was the highest pinnacle erected by Western mind, untouched by the Eastern influence of Christianity. In the West, ethics and life itself are explained in terms of utility, of intelligence, of abstract rational knowledge: in the East, in terms of emotion, of instinct, of sentiment. Logic is the strength of the one, intuition that of the other. The Occidental is not satisfied with mere perception, with first impression: he must frame a general concept: whereas the Oriental depends on insight, on the fresh first-hand intimation which comes from perception. Europe must understand where Asia can feel. Western intellect is cogitative and seeks the reason why: Eastern intellect is cognitive and comprehends the what and the how of things.

I shall not sit in judgment as to which is in the right; for I believe neither is in the wrong. Kant very truly said: "Gedanken ohne Inhalt sind leer, Anschauungen ohne Begriffe sind blind," or as one English translator has it, "Conceptions without perceptions are empty, and perceptions without conceptions are blind." Perhaps a more literal translation would be, "Thoughts without contents are empty, Perceptions without concepts are blind." Thoughts, concepts, understanding, logic, science, philosophy, form the prominent weapons of the Western intellect. Direct perception, feeling, sentiment, intuition, religion are the outstanding instruments of the Oriental spirit.

But after all that has been postulated of Personality as the bulwark of the West and of Perception as the tower of Eastern strength, are these two traits of mentality really separated by the whole diameter of being? Is not the Westerner strong in personality because he perceives himself clearly? And is not the Easterner swift to perceive because he is strongly personal? For, what is Personality but awareness of Self—the perception of the qualities that make up the “ME”? Perception is the first act of Self-hood and Self-hood is the first condition of perception. Man dwelling under the sunset sky learned to reflect on himself, while his brother in the sunrise land forgot himself in the beauties of the dawn. Man is most strong when he possesses and exercises the powers he least knows of, as he is most charitable when his right hand knows not what his left hand does.

CHINA'S CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON JAPAN

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HER LANGUAGE

“ So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes, that have not suffered themselves to fixe, but have kept themselves open and prepared, to receive continual Amendment, which is exceeding Rare.”—*Francis Bacon, “Of Custome and Education.”*

I

So widespread throughout the world is the experience of young nations rising on wings borrowed from an older, that one is tempted to define education, at least in its incipient stage, as the importation of an alien culture. I need but mention the teaching of Greek in Rome, of Latin in all the countries of Western Europe. It will not surprise us if even the “glory that was Greece” will, with the progress of oriental historical research now going on, be found to be based on the intellectual heritage from Egypt and Asia.

As the most labour-saving method of progress lies in imitation, every pupil under the sun has

resorted to it, especially when coming in contact with others very far advanced. Japan is no exception to this general rule. She is indeed a typical case; for twice in her history she came in vivid contact with exotic cultures and twice she has adapted them for her own assimilation. Both times it was through education that success was won.

Japan is a comparatively new young country. Authentic history does not date back further than the seventh century A.D. The founding of the State seems to have taken place only a few decades before the Christian era.

But long before official—say diplomatic—relations began, it is not improbable that some sort of trade intercourse had been established, nor is it less improbable that people went back and forth between the Japanese archipelago and the eastern coast of Asia.

A most interesting parallel may be drawn between the influence of Roman culture in Gaul and that of Chinese in Japan, of course with due allowance for geographical differences. Gaul succumbed as it were, entirely—materially and mentally—to the Romans, her very language being radically metamorphosed. Were it not for the stretch of a rough belt of water between the continent and our islands, the Japanese tongue might not have survived Chinese influence as it did.

Very early in their history and, indeed, before history came to be recorded, the intercourse between China, Korea and Japan had begun, the triangular relations reminding us of those of Egypt, Crete and Greece. China had the oldest

and most advanced civilisation, and Korea throve under her intellectual and political guidance. Later, the Koreans passed on their imported arts and sciences to Japan, when she was just emerging from the bronze age.

In the first decade of the fifth century, two Korean savants, Achiki and Wani, were invited by the Japanese Court to impart the learning of China in all branches of knowledge. They were given land near the Capital and for generations afterwards their descendants were engaged in learned professions under the title of *Fumibe*, "families of letters." A hundred years later (513-6 A.D.) there came likewise from Korea two professors of the so-called "Five Canons," the Confucian classics.

In speaking of the Chinese sources of Japanese culture, high tribute must be paid to the part played by Korea as an intermediary in this civilising process. Indeed, not a few phases of the Continental culture had undergone modifications in the peninsula before they were transplanted to the Island Realm; so that one finds among special terms connected with administration and arts no small number of words of Korean origin. It is to be regretted that the Aramean syllabary (En-mun), then in vogue in Korea, did not simultaneously find its way further east.

That a large number of Koreans had reached Japan in pre-historic times is quite patent to ethnologists, and the earliest historical documents make mention of their immigration. From time to time they sought refuge in Japan or were transported under compulsion and were often settled in

segregated communities to pursue their special crafts and ways of living. Largely consisting of artisans, they spread their arts and crafts. The better educated were drafted for clerical work into the services of the court and of the nobility. Whenever ancient chronicles speak of the introduction of Chinese books, they relate that some Korean dignitaries brought these as gifts. When it is said that the part played by Korea in the history of Far Eastern civilisation is very much like that of Crete in the dawn of European history, the incalculable importance of its mission may be easily surmised.

II

The cultural penetrations of China—for other kinds of penetration in any period of Japanese history we have no trace—was in full swing as early as the fourth century A.D., China being then under the rule of the famous Tang dynasty. In art and literature, in philosophy and law, in administration and handicrafts, Chinese lessons and precepts proved to be the most powerful moulding influences. These were exercised without compulsion of any kind. It was an instance of an intrinsically higher culture benignantly and automatically flowing into the needy lower levels.

The first dawn of Japanese literature is therefore strongly tinged with Sinicism. Japanese writers adopted and imbibed Chinese ideographs and phrases without much modification. To a large extent the Chinese loan words were indispensable, as there were no Japanese equivalents; but it was

not always necessity that actuated the borrowing. Pedantry not infrequently acted as a motive. Whoever examines the early literature of Japan will be struck at the abject intellectual thralldom of the Japanese writers. This is most conspicuous from the middle of the eighth to the beginning of the tenth century A.D.—a period during which whatever remained of native literature was “banished from the court” and “exposed to the fashionable rivalry of Chinese scholars.” The loan words greatly enriched Japan’s verbal stock, but affected little the structure of her native language. There came into use practically two linguistic systems—the vernacular, which we shall call Yamato (ancient name for Japan), and the Chinese—the latter erudite. This linguistic mixture has continued until the present day and is comparable to the mixture of classical words in a modern European tongue. But in the case of Japanese there has been this disadvantage—that the introduction of Chinese words was effected by the use of Chinese pictographs and ideographs, instead of a simpler phonetic system. A Chinese priest, Shen Kung, of the third century A.D., invented an alphabet of sixteen letters in order to transcribe Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit, though later in the sixth century, under the Liang dynasty, the number was increased to thirty-six. It is a matter of deep regret that this system did not come into general use in China itself, neither was it introduced into Japan.

How far the Japanese tongue was phonetically affected by the wholesale introduction of Chinese, it is yet impossible to say at this distance of time. At

the first glance it seems improbable that much was gained or lost in that respect. The simple fact that Chinese is a monosyllabic language must have fascinated the Japanese disciples with its brevity, virility, intensity and force. The tonic features of the Chinese language gave it a certain clang lacking in the Japanese. Japanese words are too rich in vowel sounds to give an impression of the ruggedness and strength which are so useful in some forms of speech. In some cases, too, the use of exotic words, regardless of their unintelligibility, or perhaps on that very account, are a valuable asset in rhetoric, and we meet in Buddhist rituals with incomprehensible, but none the less awe-inspiring and mysterious, formulas recited in Chinese or Hindu.

It has been reserved for the poets to keep alive the archaism of the native tongue. It has indeed been their privilege and duty to save from utter extinction the flame that burnt in the breast, and found utterance on the lips of their forefathers.

But the poets themselves had no other way of putting their verses into writing, than by recourse to Chinese. One of the first uses made of Chinese writing in Japan was to compile the songs orally handed down. But even this anthology, "*Manyoshu*" (Myriad Leaves), was edited by scholars of Chinese Classics.

III

The most important influence of China on Japan lay in its cultural aspect. The Chinese or Koreans

who came to Japan were certainly not few in number and they were priests, savants, or political refugees, or parties of artisans, and lived among our people. Even though they were often segregated, they were merged in course of time with the native population. The Japanese who went to the Asiatic continent were students, largely of priestly profession. This stream of student migration seems to have been very fluctuating. On one occasion, about the middle of the seventh century, as many as two hundred and forty are said to have crossed the Japan Sea. But from the modern instance of Japanese students spending a couple of years in America or Europe, we can well imagine that they returned home with no better mastery of spoken Chinese than when they left their native coast! We can also imagine, from the observation and experience of contemporary Japan, that the Universities, of which several were started in the eighth and ninth centuries, may not have made good linguists of the students. The curriculum was almost totally Chinese. It included (1) Classics—Canon of Filial Love, Analects of Confucius; (2) History—i.e., of China, scarcely any history of Japan being accessible in the eighth century; (3) Law—i.e., of Japan; (4) Mathematics—in Chinese, including Military Sciences; (5) Penmanship—Chinese calligraphy; (6) Composition—Chinese poetry and prose; (7) Phonetics of the Chinese language.

As to the last item, students of that period had one great advantage over those of modern days. They were young, fourteen being the age of admission to the so-called university.

Thus Chinese influences were exerted almost exclusively through books, that is, through the written language, and hence there was little or no occasion for the colloquial, but a thorough mastery of ideographs was required. It was an education through the eyes and not through the ears. In the face of this overwhelming legion of Chinese word-characters, what could the Japanese do? These ingenious devices, used and polished by centuries of learning and endowed with mysterious powers, could well overawe a small people lacking in literary tradition or a strong national solidarity.

And yet not entirely did the Japanese succumb to the literary onslaught—else their native language would have been swept into eternal silence. They made an effort to utilise the imported article as a vehicle for their own tongue. There were four ways of accomplishing this: (1) One was to employ Chinese characters for the conveyance of the different sounds used in Japanese speech, i.e., to convert a limited number of ideographs into phonograms; (2) to read the characters *à la japonaise*, i.e., as symbols for Japanese words, ignoring their Chinese pronunciation, and this was easy enough for nouns; (3) by adding a Japanese suffix to a Chinese word to show its part of speech, all the time retaining the original pronunciation, e.g., put the Japanese suffix *naru* (become) to the Chinese *bi* (beautiful or beauty) when it is an adjective, or put *suru* (to do, to make) to the Chinese *ai* (love) when it is a verb; (4) by the device of the so-called *te-ni-wo-ha* in order to show the grammatical case of a word.

The achievement of the first task was indeed onerous and perplexing, for it meant the selection out of a vast mass of Chinese sounds of about 3,867,¹ only 109 of which could satisfy the phonetic need of Old Japanese. There were always half-a-dozen, and sometimes two or three dozen, ideographs that could severally be chosen to convey a single Japanese sound. The first literary works of the eighth century were written in these phonograms, and as different characters are employed in different places for the same sound their perusal requires the patience and ingenuity of a Champollion or a de Rougé. It is edifying to notice that the same experiment was made elsewhere. Dr. Taylor gives the following instance: "The Pehlevi (the central stem of the Iranian alphabet) proves to be not a mixed language but only a mixed script. We have already seen how the Semitic Assyrians, adopting the cuneiform characters invented by the primitive Turanian people of Babylonia, used them partly as phonograms or symbols of sounds, and also as signs of thoughts or ideograms, which developed into logograms or symbols of words. A somewhat similar process occurred when the Aryan Persians adopted a Semitic alphabet. When Persian was written by the Aramean scribes, they employed the Semitic letters to spell the Persian words, and also optionally used the accustomed graphic representation of Semitic words as logograms to denote the equivalent Persian words."²

¹ This is the number given by Dr. Marsham, cited by Taylor. *The Alphabet*, vol. I, p. 32. Compare this with only eight hundred homophones in the English language. See Bridges, *English Homophones* (Soc. for Pure English, Tract No. 2, p. 5).

² *The Alphabet*, vol. II., p. 239.

Indeed the Chinese themselves adopted much the same method when they transcribed Indian names and technical terms in the translation of Buddhist scriptures. Only let it be said to the credit of the Indian missionaries that this gigantic achievement was chiefly their work and not that of their Chinese converts.

If the Nordic peoples found the Roman alphabet unsatisfactory, as it has "at no time represented any European language with much precision, because it was an importation adapted in a somewhat rough and ready fashion to represent sounds different from those which it represented outside Europe," the Japanese found the Chinese language bewildering in the abundance of its sounds, which only trained ears could distinguish.

To make "confusion worse confounded" in the selection of appropriate sound-signs, Chinese phonetics had changed in the course of their history and differed also in different parts of China, so that a letter might be pronounced in several ways—and who was to judge which was correct? When we consider that a large part of Chinese learning came to us through Korean teachers, we find another cause of phonetic variation and for Japanese embarrassment. It was like learning French from a German who had studied it under a Spanish master!

How to bring out of this chaos of words and sounds any order, was the immediate task to undertake in adapting Chinese symbols to the requirements of the Japanese language. The first step in this enterprise was to standardise the sound-signs,

that is to select some four dozen ideographs not for their meaning but solely for their sound, or in other words, to turn them into phonograms. This was accomplished sometime about the eighth century by the device of a syllabary.

A Japanese devotee of Chinese studies, Kibi-no-Mabi (776 A.D.), is commonly accredited with the invention of the *Kana* system of writing. *Kana*, literally meaning "temporary name," is the phonetic sign of a Japanese syllable or vowel, and is derived from a Chinese ideograph having the same sound. It is arranged in the so-called "Table of Fifty Sounds," as follows:—

a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa
i	ki	si	ti (chi)	ni	hi	mi	yi (i)	ri	wi
u	ku	su	tu (tsu)	nu	hu (fu)	mu	yu	ru	wu (u)
e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me	(y)e	re	we
o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	wo

This form of *kana* is known as *kata-kana*, "side-kana," as the letters were originally a part of Chinese ideographs—the process of extraction and contraction being comparable perhaps to the derivation of "b" from "B" or better still to that of early Latin "f" from its Chalcidic ancestor "fH."

In the course of the following half-century, the

Kana letters came to be written in cursive forms of unabbreviated Chinese ideograms. Written in this style it is called *hira-kana*, "flat" or "simple" *kana*. As far as writing is concerned, it does not by any means deserve the appellation of "simple" or "easy" *kana*. Nor does the re-arrangement of the sounds entitle it to that claim; for, whereas the arrangement of the fifty sounds is phonetically natural and correct, that of the *hira-kana* is entirely syntactical and its merit must rest in its literary value.

So general did the *hira-kana* system become, however, that the syllabary is usually called *I-ro-ha* from the first three letters. It really contains forty-seven different phonetic signs, that is three (e, yi, wu) less than in the Table of Fifty Sounds. Whether this Table when first made had all the fifty characters or not, is a question that may well be asked in view of the absence of these gaps. Of the forty-seven letters of the *I-ro-ha*, five are vowels and the rest consonantal digraphs or syllables. The arrangement of letters is unique. Other alphabets and syllabaries are classified in one of four orders—phonologic, morphologic, ideologic or chronologic;¹ but the *I-ro-ha* is a sort of acrostic composition. Read in combinations of seven and five syllables, it constitutes a poem. The following lines give the original poetical form (with slight modifications made by diacritical signs) with a literal translation:

Iro wa nihohedo
Chiri nuru wo!

Colours, gleam as they may,
How they blow away!

¹Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. I., p. 188.

<i>Waga yo tare zo</i>	Who in this world of ours
<i>Tune naramu?</i>	Lasts for aye?
<i>Wuwi no oku-yama</i>	The deep mountains of being
<i>Kyo koete,</i>	We've crossed this day.
<i>Asaki yume miji</i>	No more shallow dreams we see
<i>Ehi mo sezu.</i>	Nor shall we inebriate be.

Though it is attributed to a priest, Kukai, posthumously named Kobo, it seems more probable that it is a production gradually worked out by many minds. We see in the *I-ro-ha* an illustration of the conjoint work, the international intellectual co-operation, as it were, of three nationalities—a Japanese poem written in Chinese characters expressing sentiments instilled by Hindoo Buddhism.

The *I-ro-ha* does not by any means completely exhaust the phonetic resources of our people. By resorting to diacritical signs we can increase our consonants. For example, by using certain signs surds can be changed into sonants—*ka* into *ga*, *ta* into *da*, *sa* into *za*. The phonograms being selected, the next step was to abbreviate them for purposes of writing. This process consisted in merely picking out the least complex component of phonograms, and, thanks to the monosyllabic character of the Chinese words, the selection of right symbols was comparatively easy.

If the invention of the Phœnician alphabet was the *deformation*, as a recent writer called it,¹ of Egyptian hieroglyphics, the letters of our syllabary, whether in the form of the *kata-kana* or the *hira-*

¹ Vendryes, *Le Langage*, p. 381 (English translation, 1925).

kana, are most truly the deformation of, rather than the derivation from or simplification of, Chinese phonograms. Not content with the invention of *kana* letters, a number of ideographs for genuinely native expressions were also coined. This was the equivalent of the North-European device of diacritical symbols to extend the scope of the Roman alphabet.

IV

As to the second purpose, namely, that of utilising ideographs for the representation of Japanese words, it was accomplished by giving them the sound of Japanese words. It is like writing "*i. e.*" (*id est*) and reading it "that is." An ideograph representing "man" is pronounced in Chinese "*jên*" but the Japanese read it "*hito.*" If the adoption of Chinese characters had ended here, it would not have been an unhappy solution of the language problem; but it went much further. Besides giving to ideographs the sound of Japanese words, we retained or tried to retain the Chinese pronunciation of each character; but, failing in tonic mimicry, we followed the pronunciation in our own way, after two or three (Han, Wu or Korean) models. The result is that we read Chinese in a manner resembling the reading of Greek or Latin according to the English, the Continental or any other method advanced by classical scholars—any one of these ways probably unintelligible to Sophocles or Virgil. One can easily distinguish *kango*, Chinese words pro-

nounced according to the usage of the Han dynasty, from the native Japanese; for the former are almost invariably monosyllabic, while the latter are rarely so. I dare say that the economy of expressing an idea by a single sound was to the Japanese a strong temptation to use the *kango* without taking the trouble of translation. We are doing the same thing now by culling a large number of short words from European sources—e.g., ink, match, pen, stick, *pain*, *chapeau*, etc. In pronouncing Chinese ideographs there are no hard-and-fast rules. Usually, when two or three are connected together they are pronounced *à la chinoise*, while, when a single character is used, it is read *à la japonaise*. Take the term *Kokka* (the State), which consists of two Chinese characters *koku* (country) and *ka* (house): but when these components are used separately they are respectively read in Japanese *kuni* and *ie*.

From the Chinese purist's standpoint, the *kango* is a corruption, a jargon—no better than was Latina restica to a Virgil or a Horace.

But why words of strictly national origin—words for which the Chinese afford no exact equivalents—when written in ideographs should be given *kango* pronunciation instead of retaining their archaic sounds, is not even asked by the curious. I refer particularly to such words as Emperor, “*sumera*” in old Japanese, which nowadays is read *à la chinoise*, “*tenno*”; or “*kashiko-dokoro*,” the ancestral shrine in the Emperor's court, designated “*kensho*” in *kango*. To take but one more example—to the legendary foundress of our reign-

ing dynasty, "Ama-terasu," the Heaven-shining, is more commonly given the name "Tensho." Sini- fication carried out to such an extent may serve as a proof of the complete domiciliation of Chinese words; for even a chauvinistic ear fails to detect anything offensive in *kango* sounds. Will ever the time come when Old Japanese will fly its colours in revolt against Chinese dominance? We shall come back to this question later on.

One must acknowledge as a positive gain in the use of *kango* that, by stringing a number of words together, polysynthesis is possible to any length, especially as Chinese words can be changed in intention and extension by the usual process of generalisation or specialisation: hence an entirely new life can be infused into them by fresh combinations. In this respect Chinese is as convenient and effective as German. Such a formidable word as *Staatsschuldenverwaltungshauptkassenoberrechnungskommis- sar* can be most faithfully rendered by *Kokusai-Seiri-Kyoku-Kaikei-kwancho*.

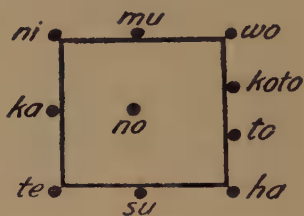
Yet it is doubtful whether this advantage is peculiar to the use of ideographs. Quite recently Dr. Vizetelly, the editor of the New Standard Dictionary, compiled a list of 1,500 words which everybody knows and which really suffice for the daily needs of the ordinary English-speaking man. By the use of prefixes and suffixes or by a slight verbal modification in their structure, any of these could easily furnish a number of new words. Take the word "accept," one can derive no less than seventeen from it, such as acceptance, acceptable, accessory, etc. From 1,500 parent words a

vocabulary of 8-10,000 can be built up without much difficulty, and these form the verbal stock of average "plain people."

I have spoken above of the two methods used in adapting Chinese ideographs for Japanese expressions. They refer to the adaptation of single words and characters. But, before completely assimilating Chinese, another difficulty had to be surmounted. Chinese and Japanese, being both agglutinative languages, can express syntactical relations not by inflection but either by the order of words or by the use of particles joining them. Of the two methods, the former is by far the most usual in Chinese, whereas in Japanese the latter is an essential characteristic of its syntactical formation, due perhaps to its not being an isolating or a strongly tonic language. In reading a sentence written in Chinese ideographs, therefore, the Japanese had to devise some means of distinguishing their parts of speech; and this was accomplished by resorting to particles, viz., short affixes of a syllable or two, usually as suffixes, sometimes as infixes and rarely as prefixes. The use of particles is so thoroughly Japanese that the term *te-ni-wo-ha*, which comprises the four most usual suffixes, is considered the distinguishing characteristic of our tongue. In a Chinese sentence, the case of a word is not always clear. Japanese syntax is, thanks to particles, free from this ambiguity. They indicate clearly, even more clearly than by inflection, whether an ideograph is employed as the subject or the object, whether it is in the possessive or the dative case, ablative or locative. For some decades, it has been an ordinary

usage for particles to be affixed in small *kana*, to the lower right-hand side of an ideograph; but, formerly, a sign in the form of a dot was put somewhere about the ideograph and its location showed whether it stood for *te* (a verb connective), *ni* (dative), *wo* (accusative) or *ha* (nominative), or any other particle. Dr. Otsuki gives a list of twenty-six particles; but older grammarians gave only ten as of more frequent occurrence and consequently of sufficient importance to be indicated by a dot:—Thus,

supposing the square to indicate an ideograph, a dot at the south-western corner means that the ideograph is provided with *te*, a dot at the north-western corner with *ni*, the same at the north-west *wo*, etc. This syllabus is also known as *wo-koto-ten* (*wo* and *koto* dots) because of the two particles at the eastern end of the square. So important was the *te-ni-wo-ha* system held that the term has become a synonym for Japanese grammar and it was even said in boasting of it that China was a land of letters and Japan of words.



V

After what has been stated, it might seem that the Japanese could have adopted to better advantage the whole Chinese language without modification. The reason why this could not be done lies in the

fact of the totally different construction of the two languages, as has been indicated. So thoroughly, however, have Chinese letters (words) been assimilated and their meaning absorbed by us, that poems written in them under strict rules of rhyme and numbers could be sung with Japanese intonation—an intonation which took no notice of their original euphony. So close is the parallel between this and the case of “the restorers of Grecian learning in the fifteenth century” in Italy, as described by a master hand, that I will cite the following passage: “Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant; and those musical notes which, from an Attic tongue and to an Attic ear, must have been the secret soul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than mute or unmeaning marks, in prose superfluous and troublesome in verse.”¹

Can one imagine a greater outrage to a language than that its best songs should be shorn of their cadence and harmony, and that their words should be uttered in notes discordant to the authors' ear? This is what has actually been done by the Japanese to the Celestial tongue.

Unreasonable as it seems, perhaps most peoples have done the same in differing degrees of thoroughness. Can we imagine Horace enjoying his own euphony if a modern European scholar were to read aloud his Odes? In China, the pronunciation of letters has so changed in the course of centuries that I very much doubt Li-po would be

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxvi.

thrilled by the beauty of his own numbers, when they are repeated by a living Chinese.

It is said that words introduced into England "from France before the seventeenth century have completely lost their French character,"¹ while later importations show evident traces of their parentage. While the same is true of thousands of Chinese loan words in Japan, it has been shown that numerous words have retained in their adopted country the purity of their original.

The penetration of the Chinese language throughout Japan has been compared with that of Greek in Rome or with that of Latin in Europe. In many respects the parallelism will hold true, and its study may throw light on the larger aspects of the international and inter-racial exchange of culture. I shall hazard for the present a few observations, confining them to the question of language.

(1) The Latin tongue was disseminated in Europe by Roman troops and merchants from camps and marts. The Roman colonies of Marseilles, Narbonne, Lyons, Toulouse, were centres of propagation. Gibbon tells us that the Romans made it their "most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue."² It was far otherwise with the Chinese language, which found lodgment in Japan through the influence of priests and literati, and from temples and schools, which were maintained by the Japanese.

(2) If, in the diffusion of Latin, the Romans main-

¹ Jagger, *Modern English*, p. 145.

² *Decline and Fall*, ch. ii. See also Weise, *Language and Character*, pp. 98, 103.

tained its exclusive use in the administration of civil and military government, no constraint of any sort was brought to bear by China on the Japanese to induce them to adopt her letters. The adoption of Chinese was an entirely free and voluntary act on the part of the Japanese.

(3) In Europe, Latin passed from Roman lips to Barbarian ears, and then it was repeated by Barbarian lips into Roman ears. It circulated orally, through personal contact. In the Far East, the Chinese language was transmitted in black and white to Japanese eyes—in visible forms instead of in sounds.

(4) From the preceding remarks, it follows that while Latin, be it in a vulgar form, filtered quickly into the lower strata of society; for a long time Chinese remained in Japan the language of the *élite*.

(5) In consequence of the personal contact between the Barbarians and the Romans, there ensued the lowering of Roman culture and language.¹ But China lost nothing by giving its light to Japan; perhaps she gained by the law that to him who gives more shall be given, as well as by the unstinted admiration she won from her willing pupil.

Japanese, after centuries of borrowing, is now paying at least the interest of its linguistic debt. The modern ideas of the West, its nomenclature of science, its technical terms of law, its set phrases

¹ Vinogradoff, *Social and Economic Conditions of the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century*, in *Cambridge Mediæval History*, vol. I., ch. xix.

of politics, have all been rendered in Japanese neologisms, and as these are in *kango* they are now adopted by the Chinese themselves with little alteration, much as some words of French origin, but used in a different sense by the English, have come back to France,¹ or some others preserve in England the forms which became obsolete in France.²

Though, thus, linguistic penetration in Western Europe and in Eastern Asia was carried on in widely divergent manners, it brought about very much the same results, which for Japan may be summarised as follows:—

(1) Vast additions to the Japanese vocabulary and corresponding expansion of ideas.

(2) The retention of Chinese sounds with some slight modifications in pronouncing words of Chinese origin. This implies also the increase of consonantal sound.

(3) The general adoption of Chinese script with very small changes and additions.

(4) The sinification of native names and words.

(5) The study of Sanskrit by means of Chinese.

(6) The knowledge of Chinese philosophy and literature, and of Hindu religion through Chinese channels.

(7) The semasiological changes in the Chinese words introduced, as well as in pure Japanese, which came to be written in Chinese characters. Even well defined terms in either tongue were accentuated in nuance and colouring.

¹ Deschanel, *Les Déformations de la Langue française* (4me. ed.), pp. 250-52.

² Jagger, *Modern English*, p. 145.

(8) The great gain in perspicuity of expression not only in single words but in sentences also, as e.g., by the use of hendiadys, which is exceedingly common in Chinese rhetoric.

(9) The gravest effect of Chinese learning was not philological, but it was exerted through philological channels. I mean its influence in transforming our political and social institutions, striking at their very psychological root, namely, at the moral concept of life and life's duties. A consideration of this subject will lead us too far from our main theme. I may hint at a few queries:— Can the various terms of ethical relations in Chinese find fit equivalents in Japanese? Was not the very common use of litotes by the Chinese literati accepted more literally by their Japanese followers, with a disastrous moral and political effect? And so forth!

(10) Equally grave in its psychological influence was the confusion introduced into the pantheon of *Kami* (Gods) by the sinification and indianization of their nomenclature. Such change of names, when written in Chinese letters, each of which means something and is not a mere symbol for a sound, usually brings about a transformation in the concept of the Gods themselves. "What's in a name?" Much and sometimes All.

VI

These, then, the Japanese race owes to China as the reward of centuries of unswerving imitation,

ambitious emulation, laborious application and intense assiduity. Japan should be grateful, but not in the ordinary sense of gratitude. The Filipinos may well be grateful to America for teaching them English and for instituting a common means of inter-communication among themselves. It is the greatest of American gifts, barring national independence, which may yet come. But the introduction of the Chinese language was neither a gift nor a favour from China to Japan. If it was a gift, it was a gift without a giver. We know of no policy formulated by China to aid Japan in its struggle for progress. It was not that China taught, but that Japan learned. Japan ought to be thankful—but to whom? To her geographical contiguity; to an all-wise Providence? But in the dispensations of Providence, man never obtains unalloyed blessing nor unmitigated evil. In drawing up the debit and credit account of what Japan borrowed from China, it is only fair to count the cost—the price she paid. The price was not paid to China, but Japan paid it all the same, even though it may have been sunk in the sea or disappeared in the air. To throw off metaphors—what were the sacrifices that Japan made in adopting the Chinese language so liberally and so deliberately? Has the domination which Japan assigned in the hour of thoughtless youth to the Chinese language weakened her native initiative or destroyed any native ideal? Has its study “given fetters rather than wings” to her mind? We may profitably calculate the cost and, in doing so, I shall call to witness an unbiassed third party instead of Chinese

or Japanese advocates. Dr. William D. Whitney, one of the greatest pioneers of linguistic science, thought "it was unfortunate for an inflected tongue like the Japanese to be obliged to resort to China for an alphabet," and bewailed the introduction of ideographs, which he called "the most detestable mode of writing in the world, and the greatest existing obstacle to the acquirement of the language."¹

An eminent English scholar, Dickins, speaks of the immense superiority of ancient Japanese to Chinese as a means of expression. He calls Chinese "a skeletal tongue, a staccato sequence of formless vocables, etc." According to the same writer, ancient Japanese "might have become a vehicle of literary expression not much less inferior to Greek than, in many respects, such a language as French is to the tongue of Homer and Sophocles, though it might never have attained the extreme of personification."²

Professor Lombard, an American long resident in Japan and a conscientious student of her history, calls this dominating Chinese influence on her culture "a misfortune in arresting development and fettering the intellect of Japan in bondage to an alien past."³

If by the appropriation of Chinese, Japan has, as it were, committed linguistic infanticide, nipping in the unformed bud a language that might have proved a contribution to human progress, it may

¹ *Language and the Study of Language*, 3rd Ed., p. 329.

² *Primitive and Mediæval Japanese Texts*, vol. I., p. xxvii.
See also vol. II., p. xii.

³ *Pre-Meiji Education in Japan*, p. 35.

still not be too late to undo the past. In these recent times we are witnessing the recrudescence of tongues that have lain dormant for centuries. Nor is the resurrection of an apparently dead language a phenomenon of the twentieth century. Gibbon gives instances of several. Should Old Japanese be brought back to life? Not the most patriotic will advocate so radical a measure as this. "Let the dead bury its dead!" With or without Chinese influence, Yamato, like Anglo-Saxon, would have gone with the progress of the nation. It will be as useless and impossible a task to resuscitate Yamato in its purity as to revive old English. But just as the English tongue, after a neglect of three hundred years (1066-1385) came into its own, with the rise of national consciousness and popular rights, so there has of late been fostered in Japan a strong tendency to do away with the ostentation and pedantry of Chinese learning.

I am unable to accept Dickins' severe criticism of the Chinese language, particularly in the light of the opinion of so eminent a Sinologist as Karlgren,¹ who says: "The old theory which classified Chinese as a 'primitive' language, not yet raised to the inflectional status, is the opposite of the truth. Chinese, in fact, has followed exactly the same line of evolution as the Indo-European languages in the gradual loss of synthetic terminations, with all the stronger appeal to the listener's (or reader's) faculty of purely logical analysis. English is perhaps in this respect the most highly developed Indo-

¹ *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, p. 25.

European language; but Chinese has progressed much further."

This is specially true of rhetorical expressions. It is encouraging to note that in China itself, where no small inconvenience is felt, due to many dialects, a strong movement was set on foot in 1917 to substitute *pei-hua*, the spoken language, for the classical tongue.

The total elimination of the Chinese loan words already in use or such as will come into vogue, will be an impossibility: for they are, as has been stated before, now part and parcel of the mental apparatus of the Japanese. An editor of the *London Times* has recently made a protest against the increasing use of Latin; but he admitted that "we use our Latinisms, not esoterically like the doctors, but because we honestly believe that nothing else will do as well." The same is exactly the case with Sinicism in Japan. Nevertheless it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Japanese vocabulary can be greatly and easily improved by displacing hundreds, if not thousands, of very commonly used Sinico expressions by those of genuine Japanese origin. The first step in this direction is taken by the enterprising Romaji Kai (Romanization Society) by the compilation of *Kotoba Naosi no Zibiki* (a Dictionary for the Improvement of Words). This is but a faint beginning. Almost every linguistically debtor nation turned at one time or another against the creditor. Even as far back as the second century, we hear of the "national" party in Rome making efforts to shake itself off

¹ *The Times* (London), May 5th, 1924.

from overpowering Hellenism. In our country, too, within a century or two of the introduction of Chinese studies, there were not lacking signs of reaction instigated by the nationalists, but it was not directed to linguistic hegemony. We see the same efforts to-day on a larger scale all around us. Pole, Czech, Welsh, Roumanian, Serb, Irish, Finn—all small nationalities are bent on regaining their once-lost tongue.

What will and should Japan do with her meagre heritage of Yamato?

THE MORAL BASIS OF JAPANESE MONARCHY

“To educate the wise man, the State exists; and with the appearance of the wise man, the State expires. The appearance of character makes the State unnecessary. The wise man is the State.”—
R. W. Emerson, “Politics.”

I

JAPAN prides herself on enjoying twenty-six centuries of continuous national existence under the same dynasty. To outsiders, too, there may be in hoary age itself something alluring to the imagination. If so, I am sorry to disillusion them somewhat, but I shall do so at the outset of my discourse. It seems that our earliest historiographers, in adopting the Chinese system of chronological computation in the eighth century, made a miscalculation by some ten sexagenary cycles, thereby pushing back the beginning of our history as many as six hundred years. It is well known that such an error is a common frailty of early chroniclers everywhere. We see it in the Roman historians before Varro. We see it in our Chinese model, in which the chronology prior to the ninth century B.C. is lacking in scientific precision. What reliance do the Swedes, I wonder, put on the chronological accuracy of the Swedish

royal genealogy given in the *Ynglingatal*? Perhaps our countrymen had more temptation than the Romans or the Chinese to prolong the dates of successive reigns, as they dealt with sovereigns of the same family. It must have been a glorious satisfaction for the *fubito*, the recorders, to mete out by a stroke of their pens many happy years to their sovereigns!

Deducting then six centuries from our early history, we bring the foundation of our Empire to 60 B.C.—some historians assign the date to 20 or 25 B.C.—instead of 660 as usually accepted, making the first ruler, Jimmu Tenno (Tenno meaning Emperor), contemporary with Julius Cæsar. Though the details of his life are mixed with more or less fabulous stories and are by no means as well substantiated as the lives of his Roman contemporaries, there is no valid ground for doubting the main events of his career. Where his family first came from, we do not know. For that matter, we cannot tell whence the Japanese race migrated. That we are the autochthons of the land which we now inhabit is more doubtful than that the Suevi or the Goths were created in Sweden. All the legends point to the so-called “High Plains of Heaven” (Taka-ama-ga-hara) as the cradle of our race; but its location is more obscure than that of Atlantis, and we have no poets or archæologists to trace its whereabouts.

Whatever the geographical origin of our royal house or of our people, we seem to have started an organised community in the southern part of Japan about the Christian era, when we had, perhaps, just

emerged from the Bronze Age. From the meagre legends and traditions relating to those early years, we can infer that the government of that community was originally due to patriarchal authority with the consent, tacit and sometimes even expressed, of the governed.

As the Islands were then inhabited by various wild races and tribes, the first task of Jimmu Tenno was their pacification. It took him some six years to unite under his sway the lower half of what constitutes present Japan. It is the day of his coronation, 1987 years ago, that we observe on the 11th of February.

If it is solely or mainly the antiquity and the continuity of our State life that have attracted the curiosity of the West, may I draw its attention to the more important question of spiritual significance involved in its diuturnity? A most cursory glance at the world's annals since the time of Julius Cæsar reveals a long list of kingdoms and empires that rose and fell, not only in Europe, but in Asia, and our thought is directed by sheer contrast to the query, "What imparts length of days to a nation?"

II

The explanation that first suggests itself as to Japan's vitality is her geographical isolation. England is likewise isolated, but how often she fell a prey to the Vikings, the Danes, the Angles, the Saxons, the Normans. We, too, lay open to opportunities for attack from without and from within.

Both the Koreans and the Chinese were great powers with advanced civilisation and formidable armies, when our country was but a weak infant state. In the thirteenth century, Mongolian armadas, more than once, threatened our coasts. Later, in the seventeenth and again in the nineteenth century, we were exposed to the ambiguous visits of European fleets.

Within the country itself, for centuries after Emperor Jimmu's conquests, different aboriginal tribes had from time to time risen against the supremacy of his successors. Rival families among the nobility could have easily invited aid from over the seas. History gives several instances of a Vortigern inviting a Hengist and a Horsa.

Much as our geographical isolation accounts for our History, it does not solve the problem of its survivance. It is a fashion nowadays to explain historical facts in terms of physical science, ignoring the spiritual factors in human activity. Medical statisticians collect every possible datum in order to account for the health of a centenarian, measuring his anatomical structure in fractions and inches, studying his material environment; but few doctors take note of the books he reads, the music he enjoys, the religion he believes.

Historical determinism is not enough: and I make bold to suggest that one reason for the prolonged life of the Japanese monarchy lies in the moral precept, accepted from of old by all races of mankind: "Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

The Oriental mind regards affection toward parents as the beginning and the test of all ethical duties. While other relationships may be denied some, filiality is shared by every human being. That filiality may in some instances be obscured on the paternal side; but in a matriarchate or a gynarchy, which seems to have been an early social system of our race, the object of filial duty and love is clearly defined. First aroused in the nursery, this emotion is the nurse of all gentle virtues. Perhaps, it is the last affection to fade out of consciousness. Affection for wife and for children may weaken it; but as our proverb has it: "By having a child, one knows what parent's love is like"—one's instinctive love for one's forbears is strengthened in later life by conscious gratitude. Christ's highest conception of God is that of a Father. Confucius incessantly refers to it as the foundation of all good morals. And so unworldly and unearthly a mystic as Laotze concedes to it the spontaneity that he denies to most human relations. Says he: "Away with your saintliness and wisdom—and the people will profit a hundredfold. Away with your benevolence and righteousness—and the people will return to filial piety and parental love." The love of parents is thus accorded in the eastern code of morals the deepest, though not exactly the highest, place. It is the root from which all healing herbs grow and thrive. Such a remark will only evoke a good-natured laugh, if not an angry retort, in a democratic age when parents exist by sheer sufferance. It certainly is imposing too heavy a burden on filial piety, if we make it solely respon-

sible for the solution of the enigma as to the true durability of a State. This is the more so, when the State is conceived as a result of social contract or as a purely juridical entity. But to explain the origin, or to justify the existence, of a State in terms of law, is as wise as to "tell what hour o' the day the clock does strike by algebra"; for the State is a moral corporation, and no amount of legal learning can exhaust its attributes, much less dive into the mysterious depth of its being. We cannot too strongly emphasise the belief among us that the State is a corporation, morally and spiritually organised, where duties take precedence of dues. On this point John of Salisbury is not too mediæval to teach the present. He speaks of a well-ordered constitution as consisting, "in the proper apportionment of functions to members, and in the apt condition, strength and composition of each and every member; that all members must in their functions supplement and support each other." A function is a duty socially considered, and a duty is a function morally envisaged. A single function followed with a single mind produces a repercussion on other functions, resulting ultimately in leavening an entire society with the sense of mutual interdependence.

In the *Hsiao King*, the Classic of Filial Piety, which has served as a sort of textbook for so many emperors in China and Japan, it is stated: "Filial Piety begins with the service to parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it ends with the perfection of one's character"; and again, "He who loves his parents will not risk to incur others' hatred, and he

who reveres his parents will not risk others' contempt. When the sovereign's filial love is observed in its completeness, his example will affect all his people, and he becomes a pattern to all within the four seas."

To a royal personage, detached from the daily walks of the men of the street, and still charged with the welfare of millions—to a royal personage of whom Rousseau said that "all things conspire to deprive them of justice and reason"—the training in this particular virtue has the peculiar merit of instilling the lesson of humility and unselfishness and of inculcating the habit of obedience. To quote the Classic of Filial Piety again: "He who serves his parents in a high situation, will be free from pride; in a low situation, will be free from contumacy; and among his equals, will not be quarrelsome." Are not these just the qualifications required of the rulers—kings and presidents—of modern constitutional States? Reverence and veneration, admiration and adoration—the constant exercise of the mind to elevate itself above itself—this is the moral reward for following the fourth Commandment.

III

There has been a singular quality—what Shakespeare called "the dread and awe of kings"—which surrounds the person who is called upon to rule over a great nation. It is not power. It is not tact. It is not intelligence. If the word did not

savour too much of theology, "grace," upon which according to Wyclif, "dominion" should be founded, would be a suitable term. In the writings of Confucius and Mencius frequently recurs the word "benevolence," as a quality pre-eminently befitting a royal station. For want of a better name, let us call it virtue, a virtue of kings, not because it belongs to them alone, but because it is that which they of all men should emulate the most. Shakespeare calls it Mercy—the virtue that is above the "sceptred sway," and that "becomes a monarch better than his crown." The Japanese conception of virtue takes, as in the *Laws* of Plato, a religious rather than an intellectual character.

How can a king be imbued with it? There is no vocational education for a prince other than that of making him think and feel like one.

It is not my purpose to persuade anyone to believe that monarchy is the perfect form of government. If it is, may all occupants of the throne deserve it! If it is not, may they make it so! May I now proceed to explain what influences are brought to bear to this end in Japan?

From an early period (some say the seventh century) of our history, there has been observed an esoteric rite called the Grand Festival of First-fruits (*Daijo-sai*), in connection with coronation. It is impossible to assert that all our rulers, without exception, followed it, especially as there was a time when all our court ceremonials were regulated according to a Tang model; but we can say that the tradition has for centuries sanctioned its observance. Let me add before proceeding further that

the place fixed for coronation is the ancient capital of Kyoto. I will describe the rite as I saw and heard of it on the occasion of the late Emperor's accession in November, 1915. A whole night is devoted to this arcanum of initiation into the duties of kingship. While the rest of the function consists in outward pomp and splendour, this part is for the Emperor alone.

For the purpose of his consecration, two small buildings of the most primitive architecture and of exactly the same design are erected. The minute details seem to vary from time to time. Let me describe a typical building of this kind. It is 18 by 30 feet in size, and there is a partition dividing the inner chamber 18 by 18 feet from the outer 12 by 18. It is made of unplanned wood and is thatched with reeds. The materials, though prepared by hand, have as little human labour as possible bestowed upon them, the idea being to make everything as near to nature as is compatible with necessity. The pillars are of pine timber with bark on. Coarse matting form the walls and ceiling. They are put together without nails, in order to remind one of the times when metal had not yet come into use. The floor is covered with soft grass, over which are spread mats. The two tiny structures are connected by a long corridor sprinkled with purest sand. Everything is meticulously clean. The Empress is installed at a distance of a few rods. The Imperial family, Ministers of State and other high functionaries, are given accommodation in covered galleries at some distance. All these plain but dignified structures

are merely temporary, being improvised solely for the one great event.

Each of the two isolated rooms above referred to is furnished in exactly the same way—if furnished they may be called. In the middle of the chamber, which is but dimly lighted by a couple of lanterns throwing a dim light, there are piled several mats padded with cleanest straw, forming a couch. At its foot are placed a pair of brocade slippers. On one side a small table is provided with a wooden comb and hairpins; on the other side stands a table on which is laid a folded coverlet of coarsely woven silk and hemp. The toilet articles indicate that the Presence expected is that of a feminine personage—none other than that of the Sun Goddess, whom legend makes the ancestor of our ruling dynasty.

When the appointed time arrives (sometimes in the early evening), the new Emperor, having prepared himself for several days for the auspicious hour, cleansed and purified anew by repeated ablutions and clothed in robes of archaic pattern, is ushered along the corridor to the sacrarium, which he then enters, accompanied by a few attendants: but when he enters the inner chamber, he is alone. All around him is silence, broken only, it may be, by the cry of a night-bird or the chirping of an insect. Not far off, thousands of his faithful subjects are keeping watch, but every voice is hushed; for the whole nation keeps vigil with him to-night.

Having entered the chamber, the Emperor makes obeisance in front of the elevated seat to greet the Unseen Goddess; then, after a few minutes' composure, begins his act of devotion, which consists

in placing before her the various kinds of edibles piled on dishes of earthenware, carried to the entrance for him to serve. He waits upon the Invisible Presence, and partakes of the same food and drink. Every utensil employed, the furniture, the building itself, takes him to the remotest antiquity, "The Age of the Gods," as it is called among us. Centuries are eliminated in his sight, and he can hear with his inner ear the pristine ancestress saying to her grandson, as she sends him on a mission to the Islands of Japan: "Go forth to bring the inhabitants of those islands under thy benevolent rule." Fully four hours are spent in this reverent communion. After an hour's interval, the Emperor enters the second sacrarium to repeat the same sacrament after midnight, retiring only with the coming of the dawn.

Is it possible for any mortal to forget an experience like this? Will not the remembrance of devotions so unique follow him throughout his life? Who would not feel, under circumstances like this, as Tennyson must have felt at break of day:

"We are Ancients of the earth
And in the morning of the times?"

This is ancestor worship pure and simple—fidelity to the Past plighted to the duties of the Present and to the services of the Future. "Once you saw phoenixes," says Emerson, "they are gone, the world is not therefore disenchanted. The vessels in which you read sacred emblems turn out to be common pottery; but the sense of the pictures is sacred, and you may still read them transferred to the walls of the world."

The apparent parallelism between the Christian institutes of baptism, the Holy Sacrament, and the midnight vigil on one side, and the ablution, the sacred meal and the night-watch on the other, is striking, but I leave it to students of comparative religions. It is rather for me to stress the fact that the entrance into office on the part of the Emperor of Japan has long been consecrated by this mystic rite. While by a written constitution he avows his political obligation to his people, by the many practices of religious symbolism and above all by entering into close fellowship with the whole line of his ancestors (the *Kami*), he hallows his person and consecrates his office, and identifies himself with their honour and their wishes. Call this process by whatever name you will—suggestion, Couéism, projection, idealization, or any other—it is the most solemn form of oath, by which the new sovereign binds himself to observe the laws of his fathers. He takes this pledge in the presence of millions of his subjects, as well as of clouds of unseen witnesses. It is the guarantee that the sovereign authority he is assuming will not be arbitrarily employed, but that it will be exercised within the bounds of the Way of the Gods (*Kami no michi*), which is equivalent to *jus naturale* of European publicists.

The night ceremony is, moreover, the highest form of education. A novitiate in a royal profession is brought face to face with beings superior to himself, to whom he must pay homage and render submission. It would have edified Rousseau to hear of it ere he despaired of princely education.

He admits, however, that kingcraft is a science better acquired by obeying than by ruling. What a satisfaction it would have been to him to learn of our system! That obedience is only manly and sincere which we render out of respect. And what is respect but an emotion composed, as psychologists assure us, of love and awe, *Amo et Timor*? Parenthood commands on the paternal side awe and on the maternal, love.

IV

The Emperor Meiji has left behind him a large number of verses (in all some ten thousand) which he jotted down from time to time to give expression to his personal feelings. How often the thought is reiterated that he rules his land not only by virtue of, but by the virtues of his forbears, and that his office is a trust and a stewardship. We see in him the personification of the idea symbolised in the mystic rite of the coronation. The dominant note of his character was his never-flagging diligence in cultivating that royal virtue—call it Mercy or Benevolence if you please—so concisely put by a truly royal soul, Abraham Lincoln—“malice toward none, charity for all.”

I have from my youth been an ardent admirer of Lincoln, and, incongruous as it may seem to you, there have long been associated in my mind these two intellectual and physical giants—the Martyr President of the United States and Meiji Tenno of

Japan—associated by contrast in the surroundings under which they were reared, but not infrequently by the similarity in their ideas and mental make-up. And in this connection, there has often come the question, “What did that great American think as the fatal bullet struck him?” Certainly no malice, no hatred; more likely, pity that the assassin knew not what he did.

In 1910, a plot unprecedented in the annals of our history was discovered—a conspiracy quite far advanced, directed against the person of the Emperor by twenty-four anarchists. They were forthwith arrested and were condemned to capital punishment. Prince Katsura, the Prime Minister at the time, and the whole Cabinet, offered resignation on the ground of neglect in administration. When the death warrant of the criminals and the request of the ministers for resignation were laid before the Emperor, he refused to sign these papers, saying “Who would take the life of the gods? If some plot against my person, it must be that I have not perfected the divine virtues. Unless something was lacking within me, none would have dared it.” He then commanded the Cabinet to remain in office and asked that clemency should be exercised to the utmost limit of the law. As Prince Katsura told me the story, I could detect tears in his voice, and this matter-of-fact man added in a half credulous way: “Do you know His Majesty really believes in his affinity with the gods, and is endeavouring to fulfil his responsibilities as one?”

V

When a monarch conceives of his vocation, not in political, but in moral terms; not in legal, but in spiritual, his subjects respond to him in like manner. I am not pleading for a return to the priest-king, who could bind not only our body but our soul also. Our conception of a good government is that the ruler wields his power as his God-given duty, and the subject obeys as his God-given duty. Politics in this sense is deontology, and is as far removed from the conflict of rights as music is from noise. "Rights," says Mazzini, "can exist only as a consequence of duties fulfilled, and we must begin with fulfilling the last in order to achieve the first." Similarly, Edmund Burke said: "Civil society is within the province of moral jurisdiction." In his much-read book on the "History of Political Science," Dr. R. H. Murray says in allusion to the words just quoted: "To-day we have travelled far from the position of Burke." Yes, indeed, how miserably far!

The old doctrine of the Divine *Right* of Kings in Europe was a weapon of defence against the Pope or the people. Now it lies mouldering among antiquarian curiosities. The discipline of the Divine *Duty* of Kings has been perhaps an older tradition and is still emulated in the Farthest East. In one word, a king can be truly one, only when his subjects render willing homage on account of his fulfilling his duties. Most truly says Carlyle: "There is no act more moral between men than that of rule and obedience. Woe to him that claims

obedience when it is not due; woe to him that refuses it when it is! God's law is in that, I say, however the parchment laws may run."

Thus are Royalty and Loyalty co-ordinate moral concepts. If this sounds like shallow sentimentality, let us remember that men are moved by sentiment and not by disquisitions on constitutional law.

That the attitude of our people to the Crown is decidedly of a moral nature, has been illustrated from time to time in moments of grave crisis in our history. From the time that our first ruler occupied the throne, there has been a continuous succession of no less than one hundred and twenty-three of his descendants. Some of these were men of great power, others of vast ambition; still others were modest by nature or of moderate natural gifts. Not a few suffered at the cruel hands of ungrateful subjects or were treated as puppets. Sometimes mere infants were put on the throne. In spite of all the vicissitudes they suffered, a remarkable fact running through all their reigns is that no subject, however ambitious or arrogant, however powerful or popular, dared usurp the royal prerogative. At times there appeared men of heroic mould, who approached the throne closely, but they always stopped short of it, pausing before it, as though it were too sacred a thing to touch. This is the more noteworthy, as there were periods in which the Imperial authority sank so low that the Court could ill afford even the necessary repair of the palace, not to speak of the maintenance of sentinels to guard it against surprise. When battles were

fought, and these not infrequently occurred in the very courtyards and gardens of palaces, they were between rival factions and not against the Emperor himself. They were for the possession of his person, to place it out of harm's way. When he was allowed but a niggardly pittance for subsistence and so had to live in dire need, his claims as the supreme head of the country were not forgotten and reverence was never denied him.

There is a long epoch in our history when the power of the military and feudal nobility was in the ascendant, and the generalissimo (the Shogun) practically assumed the reins of government. For some centuries this rather illegitimate condition prevailed; but even during this period there was no break in the theory that the Emperor and he alone was the sovereign ruler of Japan, and whoever actually wielded the power did so in his name.

Then there came in 1868 what we call the Restoration. It meant the surrender of the governmental power by the Shogun to the Emperor and the abolition of feudalism. These great tasks could not be accomplished without a civil war; but why did the war last only a few months and why was it carried on with so little of the cruelty usual in civil wars? The reason is simple. It was admitted by all who took part in the war that, whichever side might win, the ultimate victor was to be the Emperor. As to the abolition of the feudal system, it was a voluntary surrender of fiefs by their tenants, the "daimyo," to the sovereign.

And may I say here, that when I speak of the moral basis of our monarchy, I am not using the

term "moral" as an antonym of "constitutional." For to be unconstitutional is to be moral-less; but to exercise a moral influence violates no constitution. I have advertently chosen the term "moral," in order to bring into clearer relief those aspects of monarchism which are not covered by legal interpretation or political declarations. In the governance of nations there are subtle forces which defy definitions of law. Most scientifically does Shakespeare say in *Troilus and Cressida*:

"There is a mystery—with whom relation
Durst never meddle—in the soul of state,
Which hath an operation more divine
Than breath, or pen, can give expressure to."

Constitutional limitations may reduce a monarch's power to a minimum, but where monarchy has been sustained intact for centuries and monarchs have personally been highly revered, there is little danger of his institutional authority suffering. Should his power fail to command, a wise man can still suggest, and when he cannot compel, he can guide. When he can neither suggest nor guide, he can adorn. The popularity and security of the British Crown are kept up by the principle of "dignity without power." When our Constitution proclaims the Imperial authority as "sacred," "divine," "inviolable," and "eternal as the heavens," its framers had in mind the moral basis of that authority. Such terms are not becoming a political vocabulary. They belong to a religious category. If we have travelled any distance in the last two centuries, it is from

Louis XIV's doctrine, "*L'état—c'est moi.*" In the frame-work of a state, the sovereign is only a part; but it is the part that lubricates its wheels, distils its essence and imparts to it its complexion and fragrance. Viewed from this vantage ground, no democratic operation can assail the throne. On the contrary the throne can take democracy itself under its wings, if by so doing it will satisfy the real needs of the nation. Ancestor-worship affords ample play to innovation. It should not chain the living to the dead; it bids us go forth with all the momentum of the past. Under a sciotheistic régime, generations can, like the angels in heaven, whom Swedenborg saw in his vision, advance continually to the spring-time of their youth, so that the oldest generation appears the youngest. If the king never dies, as a fiction is, how can he grow old? He can afford to be generous and just to every shade of new opinion.

The spirit of Louis XIV is reported to have expressed his opinion through a spiritualistic medium: "Universal suffrage is an excellent thing in a monarchy. It is a source of information. When it recommends a certain course of action it shows us that this is a thing which we must not do. . . On the other hand, we must pay serious heed to every cry of pain, and her too universal suffrage will come to our aid." It is not for me to say how little or how much of Louis XIV's rule was guided by moral principles. But his spirit, now turned a *Kami*, shows a truly god-like concern for human welfare! It appears as though he had realised that ancient canon of Taoism, uttered centuries before

Frederick the Great, that "the King is the first subject of the State."

VI

The Great War has accelerated the democratic movement and brought conspicuously to the fore the Republican principle of government. But the rise of the Succession States is not the last word of political wisdom to be univerrally applied, nor did the bell that rang in the new régime in China and Germany toll the knell of Empires. If the object of the War was to make the world safe for democracy, it has succeeded too well: for it looks as though the Peace does not make democracy safe for the world! Democracy, socialism, communism are daily encroaching upon the monarch's sovereignty and prerogative and menacing the very foundation of one-man rule. Japan is facing a new phase of political development: for she has already committed herself to universal manhood suffrage, which will all at once add ten millions to the list of voters. Already as far back as seventy-five years ago, Macaulay feared that universal suffrage would lead to "one vast spoliation" and that, if introduced in England, "a few half-naked fishermen would divide with the owls and foxes the ruins of the greatest of European cities." He could not believe that monarchism could survive it. The experience of nearly all the countries where it is adopted, however, gives the lie to the doleful prophecy. In the words of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher,

“democracy has been too busy in capturing the Parliaments to think about assaulting the Crowns.”

There has of late developed a cult of law phraseology and of a constitution curtailing the powers of the ruler in so many legal terms. Few will dispute the fact that a Jural State marks an improvement over a Might or Fist State; but, like Plato, we can conceive and formulate a still higher form of State life where Virtue should reign—a Heroarchy.

In spite of the ingenuity and eloquence of Macchiavelli and Spinoza, it will be impossible to free political institutions of ethical import. When Montesquieu speaks of the principal of monarchy as honour and that of a republic as virtue, he seems to think of dignity and sometimes of honours in the one, and of patriotism and sometimes of equality, simplicity and frugality, in the other. Certainly it will not hurt any republic to esteem honour more by keeping offices (honours) out of the market; nor will it disgrace any monarchical court to practise more simplicity and frugality. If the distribution of honours is a practice pregnant of danger in monarchy, let it be remembered that Plato saw in it a temptation specially strong in democracy. Even as I write these lines, the *Wasps* of Aristophanes are buzzing about my ears!

None the less must it be admitted that wasps do not stop at buzzing. They can sting, and sting kings, as they can poison the demos. It is some comfort to be assured by zoologists that wasps, unlike the bees, can only suck!

Political science has a long way to travel before it settles definitely the limits, the merits and

demerits of various forms of government. If there is new light to be shed on this subject, it is likely to come from the study of sociology. Just as the recent development of psychology gives us a glimpse of powers of the human mind hitherto little demonstrated, though deeply felt, so will, I trust, the progress of sociological science bring to the light yet undiscovered functions of the human community, which are as separate from the political as the psychological are from the physiological. Can we not reasonably look forward to the time when Politics, Economics and Ethics, tripartite activities of corporate life, shall differentiate functionally more and more? Do we not already notice in Syndicalism, Communism and other theories signs of such a tendency? Are there not indications of "the Passing of Politics" from the hand of franchise-mongers and glib-tongued orators?

"For forms of government, let fools contest,
Whate'er is governed best, is best."

Theoretically, Republicanism is enchanting: but how much superior is it to Monarchism in applying what a good republican, Mazzini, regarded as its essential principles, namely, "of love, of civilisation, of fraternal progress by all for all, of moral, intellectual and economic improvement for the entire body of citizens?" If the forms of the state were merely a subject for debate, a republic, the sacrosanct rule of the majority, may score a large vote; but if good government means practical work, it must be an empirical device adapting itself to the varying demands of time and place, and assuming various forms accordingly.

As yet, no absolutely perfect form of government has been discovered in history nor invented in theory. A rough approximation to the ideal is as far as human intellect has thus far attained. Science has shown little progress in this field since the time of Aristotle, to whom we still turn for instruction. After comparing some hundred and fifty different constitutions which he reduced to three typical forms (Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Polity), he says: "The best must be that which is administered by the best, and in which there is one man, or a whole family or many persons, excelling in virtue, and both rulers and subjects are fitted, the one to rule, the others to be ruled, in such a manner as to attain the most eligible life." And this reminds one of Voltaire's reason for preferring Monarchy to Democracy, namely, that it is much easier to educate one man than all men. But to return to the Stagyrite's question, there follows this enigmatic saying in the same book: "A people who are by nature capable of producing a race superior in virtue and political talent are fitted for kingly government." Was this a challenge to the arithmocracy of his age? Was it a confession of the impotence of political institutions when divorced from moral principles? A loyal and patriotic citizen of the Athenian Republic, did he throw this sentence, as it were, in the teeth of monarchism, to insinuate its fundamental impossibility? Or was it meant as a vindication of Alexander's hegemony? Whatever the motive in writing these lines, their implication cannot be gainsaid, namely, that Monarchy is the best form, if the people can train

the occupant of the throne in paths of virtue. I am aware that this principle sounds like the maintenance of the status of a certain dynasty, and hence wars against Maine's law of progress, namely, that it consists in a development from status to contract. Three questions may ward off misunderstanding on this point. First, is contract the last word to be said on the evolution of human society? Secondly, is the legal right connoted by these terms the sole criterion to gauge man's development? And thirdly, is not "status" itself capable of a far nobler content and of a far wider expansion? We have by no means exhausted the resources of the "status." We have not utilised its privileges for higher purposes. Its etymology has blinded us to its dynamic capacity. We have regarded it merely as a repository of rights and not as an organ of functions.

Status! Statics! Is there a greater desideratum for a state, in these days of social unrest and political cataclysms, than some element to lend it stability? Its most ardent protagonist will hardly claim the notoriously short life of Democracy as a feature conducive to human happiness or to abstract justice. On the other hand, the most faithful of royalists will not deny that Democracy is an idea worth striving after.

Democracy is a principle: Monarchism is a form. Far from being irreconcilable, the two concepts give a sense of harmony to the oriental mind which refuses to perceive any paradox between repose and action or between monarchy and democracy, but which rather

delights in unifying the contrasts between the monarch and folk and defines the perfection of all human activity as rest in motion and motion in rest.

ON TEAISM

“It is only by a proper combination of the pleasures of Society with those of Solitude that we can enjoy each in its highest relish.”—Zimmerman, “*The Pleasures of Solitude.*”

I

WHY should I commit so grave an offence as to add another to the already long list of isms? I pondered this question in right teaist fashion, and came to a conclusion before I had put into so many words the major or the minor premise. Teaism is in itself so innocent that a cursory treatment of it can do no harm. It was indeed invented in order to keep people from harming themselves or others. If its founder was condemned to death it was not that his art was the cause. The exemplary self-control he showed in his last moments is attributed to the constant care with which he had practised the tea-ceremony.

Like children on the way-side throwing kisses at an unknown passer-by, I am throwing “Tea-ism” at everybody, which means anybody or nobody, in the hope that in this age resembling on an enlarged scale the sixteenth century of Japanese history, when the ceremony first came into vogue, some kindred spirits may find something to divert the

mind from the loud blast of trumpets and the glaring headlines of newspapers.

A cult so exotic as Teatism must, in order to attract serious attention, have its historical background elucidated. Let me first make a few remarks on Tea itself.

A Chinese legend gives credit to the Emperor Shinnung (god of agriculture) for the discovery and first cultivation of this herb and of all other useful plants. He is supposed to have lived about 3,700 B.C. Another legend narrates that a Buddhist Indian saint, Bodhidharma, was wont to spend days and nights in meditation. At one time he spent nine years in continuous devotion, so that at the end of this period his limbs were atrophied and practically lost. In one of his earlier exercises he fell asleep, and when he awoke he was so chagrined with himself that he cut off his eyelids and threw them away. Where they touched the ground, there grew two plants bearing aromatic leaves, and when he tasted these his brain became clear. We shall make ample allowance for the scientific accuracy of this story; but that tea is closely related with the Buddhist religion is an incontestable fact. It does seem to have come into use in China later in the fifth century A.D. in the time of Bodhidharma. Its use spread quickly, so quickly that in the eighth century it became of sufficient importance to be taxed.

It is rather remarkable that tea did not find its way to Europe until the seventeenth century. First introduced to Portugal as early as 1559 and half a century later to Holland, the earliest mention of it in

the English language was made by one Wicksham, who wrote in 1615 from Hirado, Japan, about a pleasant beverage called "Chaw" (cha=tea). It was soon after introduced into England and by the middle of the seventeenth century it had become so popular in fashionable society that six to ten pounds sterling were paid for a pound of tea.

Perhaps it was for its medicinal quality that tea first attracted public attention in England. *Mercurius Politicus* states, under date of September 30, 1658, and "that excellent and by all physicians approved China drink," was sold at the Sultana Coffee House. That social and chatty gentleman, Pepys, notes down, apparently with regret, that he had not drunk tea until the end of September, 1660. Colley Cibber, the playwright and actor, wrote in the last part of the same century, an apostrophe: "Tea! thou soft, thou sober, sage, and venerable liquid—thou female-tongue-running, smile-smoothing, heart-opening, wink-tipling cordial, to whose glorious insipidity I owe the happiest moment of my life, let me fall prostrate." (*Lady's Last Stake*, quoted in the *Century Dictionary* under Tea).

So precious a drink might have stimulated imagination if not religious awe. Not a bit of such nonsense troubled the practical mind of the English. In a few decades there was formed a company importing China tea, and, a little later, a large firm was conducting a plantation in Assam, paying a dividend of 730 per cent. Of course, no cult will reimburse a votary sevenfold!

II

Tea came to Japan early in the ninth century, being brought thither by a Japanese priest who had studied in China. Its use was for a long time confined to the monasteries. Only in the thirteenth century was the plant acclimatized on Japanese soil, and its use spread rapidly among the laity. However, it never lost a pietistic flavour. The name of the Abbot Muso is immortalized as the pioneer in the use of tea. It was, par excellence, a drink of the religionists. It was they who not only first introduced the manufactured article but later imported seeds of different kinds, and with these the utensils for making the infusion. The monks used it as a stimulant in their nocturnal vigils. How flat must this beverage have seemed to those good religious orders which slaked the thirst of Christendom with the fiery waters, bearing still the names of holy institutions—Benedictine, Chartreuse, etc. ! The part played by the liqueurs in the propagation of the Gospel must have been immense, whether by loosening the tongues of preachers or by exercising a soporific effect on the hearers !

The use of tea is with us not solely of religious significance. To make an art of the brewing and drinking of tea may seem well-nigh absurd. So must it seem to Western eyes. To the Eastern mind, it is as inexplicable why it did not occur to so intellectual a people as the Scotch or the Germans to elevate the use of their national drinks to an art.

The gift of Bacchus has been praised in innumerable strains by the warm blooded sons of Southern Europe. The colder blooded Northerners, too, have borne witness to the virtue of beer and whisky. Why did not the emotional Teutons develop their rattling Kneipe into a sort of esoteric beerism? When Robert Burns sang:

“When neighbors anger at a plea,
And just as wud as wud can be,
How easy can the barley bree
Cement the quarrel:
It's aye the cheapest lawyer's fee
To taste the barrel.”

he did justice to the social and civic efficacy of the whitter and the archilowe; but evidently never thought of their artistic possibilities. Or, to take one more example, when Alexander Pope wrote:

“Coffee, which makes the politician wise,
And see through all things with the half-shut eyes.”

he recognised the potent influence of coffee in public affairs, but he went no further.

The unpractical Easterners enjoy the appearance and the service of food as much as they do its taste. They play with the means, instead of hastening to the end. They loiter on the way, when the way itself is pleasant. They look upon the mere act of drinking as bestial. “Drinking like an ox, eating like a horse” was the phrase applied to the physical act of deglutition and degustation.

The period when tea came into general use in Japan, namely the 15th and 16th centuries, coincides with a very interesting epoch of our history, a time familiar to all students of oriental art as the

Muromachi (1430-1570) and the Momoyama (1570-1600) Periods. They formed the heroic era in arts and military adventures, the era of outstanding individuals, of great enterprises, of unscrupulous extravagances and luxury, of constant warfare.

Even so innocent a beverage as tea was dragged down from its lofty use in the monastery, to the baser purposes of debauchery. The nobles and the wealthy rivalled with one another in projecting novel games and entertainments. Among these was tea-sampling. It consisted in providing decoctions of different brands of tea. Whoever guessed aright the place where each variety was grown was given a prize. Elegant booths were built for this amusement, where the magnates of the land, accompanied by a host of hangers-on and attendant women, gathered, and the prizes, consisting of rolls of silk, armors, weapons, lacquer ware and porcelain, were exhibited and distributed. The reputation of tea as the drink that never inebriates was badly compromised by those who took advantage of it to indulge in stronger beverages. Thus tea-booths became in a short time resorts for gambling and other vices.

Cha-no-yu, or, as it is usually translated, the tea ceremony or the cult of tea, and which for brevity's sake I have here dubbed Teaism, was a protest against the frivolity and extravagance of the age.

A samurai-priest¹ known in history by his surname, Rikyu, is generally admitted to have

¹ For interesting mental affinities between samurai and Zennist see Nakariya, *The Religion of the Samurai*, 1913, pp. 35-40.

originated it. But, like all reformers, he had a long line of precursors, most of whom were of the priestly profession. Though a reformer and protestant, he did not nail his articles of faith on his gate-post, nor did he denounce principalities and powers. To take such a step would be too worldly and un-teaistic. A teaist is a quietist—even if he be a reformer—a St. John of the Cross and not a Luther. There are in Buddhism sects that can make a stir; but it so happened that tea was closely associated with the Zen sect, whose founder was no other than Bodhidharma.

III

The name Zen, or Zen-na, is a Japanese rendering of the Sanskrit Dhyana, and means tranquillity or the state of spiritual attainment, the feeling of being firmly established. This state of mental illumination or spiritual liberation is more comprehensive than a term which is sometimes used as its equivalent and which sounds more scientific to modern psychologists. I mean "Cosmic Consciousness." This is not the place to make hair-splitting distinctions between the various terms used for *mukti*, or *samadhi* or *moksha*. It is sufficient for our present purpose to remember that the distinctive trait of the Zen sect lies in the doctrine that the object of life is to reach this consciousness. This is perhaps the same spiritual experience called conversion by Christians, and it comes often at the most unexpected moments, "even as a thief that

cometh by night," or, as Edward Carpenter so eloquently puts it:

"That day—the day of deliverance—shall come in what place you know not; it shall come but you know not the time. In the pulpit while you are preaching the sermon, behold suddenly the ties and the bands . . . shall drop off. In the prison One shall come . . . In the sick room . . . there shall be a sound of wings . . . In the field with the plough. . . . In the brothel amid indecency and idleness, repairing your own and your companion's dresses; in the midst of fashionable life, in making and receiving calls; in idleness, and arranging knickknacks in your drawing-room—even there, who knows? It shall duly, at the appointed hour, come."

The illumination coming like a flash of lightning is known among the Zennists by the name of *tongo* (instantaneous liberation); but they also believe that the illumination can be induced by certain processes of conduct and contemplation—by *Zengo* (gradual liberation). The founder of the sect set them an example of what a recent English writer calls "the orison of quiet."

The certain way of sitting down cross-legged with hands resting in front, hand laid within hand, and eyes almost but not wholly closed, the gaze fixed on the navel, is conducive to meditation; but besides these points there are other rules pertaining to food, sleep, etc. Still more important than all these is the right attitude of mind, which must be detached from the world, and which, therefore, must seek a place "away from the madding crowd." Rikyu recommends a small simple room, three by three metres in size, having a small window, and thatched with straw or bark of trees, pillars being knotty, unplanned tree-trunks. Such a room, built in a grove of trees, should contain the minimum

amount of furniture, and only the absolutely necessary utensils for making tea. Of course there should be a *kakemono* hung and a vase of flowers placed. Nothing is to be gaudy or glaring. A brazier to boil water, a water-pot with a dipper, a spoon to scoop tea, a bowl, a tea canister, a whisk to stir water in brewing the tea; for the tea used in the ceremony is of a special make. The topmost buds are plucked in early spring, and after being steamed and dried, are ground in a hand-mill into the finest mealy powder. This grinding process is in itself a labour of great patience. We have stories of judges sitting in court grinding tea while listening to pleadings. One cannot grind it too slowly, and it requires the utmost composure to do it well. Over a teaspoonful of the powdered tea is poured a cupful of hot water, and the mixture is then beaten into a froth with a whisk.

The description sounds like that of a culinary operation. It may not impress you as appetizing. Never mind, you cannot have a more genuine tea, and if you only knew how to sip and taste, rolling the liquid in your mouth, you will learn to relish it. But the heart of the matter is by no means covered by the gulping of the green decoction.

That is a very small part of the ceremony. The main part consists in the manipulation of the few simple utensils—the spoon, the dipper, the tea-caddy, the whisk, the bowl and the napkin to wipe it with. How to take them up and in what order, where to place them, is all fixed by exact rules which are the result of long experience.

If the main part of Teatism is in manipulation, its

essence, its ulterior object, is in detaching yourself from the world, to raise the warrior's thought "above the battle," and thus pave the way for a higher light to reach you. I admit that the whole process can be easily turned to ridicule. Though in a moment of illumination man feels that true art is to conceal art, in his baser moments, he stoops to hint at the art he has concealed. Impious people do make fun of it. Teaistic formalities may also strike an onlooker as weird and uncanny, as though he were watching a witch tending her cauldron. Only there is no mystery, no occultism, in *cha-no-yu*. The whole course from beginning to end is thoroughly practical and reasonable. If there is anything imponderable, it is in the general atmosphere created by the object in view. One could read at the threshold of the simplest straw-thatched tea-hut the same inscription that glittered in gold on the temple of Delphic Apollo—"Nothing too much," Sophrosyne, as the wise men of Greece would have said. A story is related of a certain person asking Rikyu what the secrets of his art might be. Rikyu answered by saying, "Nothing extraordinary. On a warm day try to make your guest feel as cool as possible. When it is cold, do everything to make him warm. Exert yourself to give him ease and comfort." On hearing his exposition, the man remarked, mockingly, "A child of three knows that." Hereupon an old man who was present added, "But a greybeard of eighty cannot do that always."

The religious character of Teaism is made apparent by the professional *cha-jin* (literally tea-

man, teaist) by donning a semi-priestly robe; but the professional is often taken up more with the details of the process than with the attainment of the real end. As Teatism became popular, the devotees not infrequently differed among themselves about some trifling details and so grouped themselves into separate schools, while in their bickerings the original idea was sometimes badly eclipsed. Still it remains true that, even if the spiritual element was not always carried out, the principle of simplicity was rarely forgotten. In the midst of social corruption, Rikyu called upon the nation to return to nature; to its singleness, peace and beauty. That was why his model tea-room was no more than an unadorned hut. It is related that when he was still a novitiate, his teacher told him to see that everything was in good order for the expected guests. Rikyu, when he examined the room and the garden, found them both swept and cleaned in a meticulous manner. He walked up to a tall pine-tree in the garden and shook it so that the needles and a few cones fell. When his teacher learned what had been done, he was well pleased, remarking that this was just as he would have it. The Rousseauic return to nature looks at times rather far-fetched, as for instance when we are instructed to think of a mountain cascade while adding cold water to the boiling kettle, or to think of the sound of an axe in a wood, while the tea is stirred and the whisk makes a click on the side of the bowl, or to think of *kakehi* (a bamboo pipe leading water from a brook to our kitchen door) while water is poured on the tea. If it is possible to raise "a

tempest in a tea-pot," it is no less possible to check its violence by its contents.

The tea cult has undoubtedly been a calming influence in the social life of our people—a check to the national buoyancy of their spirit. It has served as a measure of self-repression, acting with an efficacy akin to the practice of the Stoics. It has made introverts of the Japanese, who are by nature far removed from being so. Let the minute moral instructions pass for what they are worth: the suggestion is there for him to whom it appeals. Does it not seem self-contradictory that a return to nature should be attempted by an artificiality as intricate as the tea ceremony? But we cannot return to nature except by the help of art. For strangers the way to Arcadia passes through Athens and Corinth. If we covet the nudity of Eden, we can enter its gate only by clothing ourselves thickly enough to defy the flaming sword.

IV

Cha-no-yu can be indulged in as a solitary pastime. Many persons find in it repose and an hour for contemplation. Most truly has Zimmerman said in his *Pleasures of Solitude*: "Many men have acquired and exercised in solitude that transcendent greatness of mind which defies events, and, like the majestic cedar which braves the fury of the most violent tempest, have resisted with heroic courage the severest storms of fate." Besides the moral effect, the art exercises an

artistic one. I know of many women who, when worn with care have taken refuge in it. You may think it strange that upon some temperaments Rikyu's art exercises the same influence that Mozart's or Chopin's does on others. Is there something fundamentally common between the rhythm of music and of manipulation?

From the nature of the ceremony, though it cannot be practised on a large scale to good effect, it must not be inferred that its ideal is utter solitude. Like Shelley, a teaist will say :

" I love tranquil solitude
And such society
As is quiet, wise and good."

I have attended a party where some twenty guests participated in a large room, but the proper number is considered to be five, and the standard room, nine feet by nine feet, is just large enough to accommodate five persons. That is why, in Japan, a set of plates or cups or bowls, consists of this number.

It would be too tedious to describe the rules of etiquette required of both host and guests, on the occasion of a tea ceremony. They are very rigid, stereotyped and too artificial. To an outsider they are even insincere and unnatural. On this point we must make allowance for the temper of the age when they were established. I have observed more than once that it was the product of a time when belligerency was the order of the day. Not only was it a protest against luxury, but also against the war-spirit and class distinctions which were then very marked. Hence it was a rule that no weapon should be carried into the tea-room, also that no reference to war and politics be made in conversa-

tion. Here in primitive setting equality was observed more than anywhere else. The great of the land might be invited to sit side by side with a tradesman or a peasant. Commonsense, of course, dictated that in seating, the nobles took precedence, or else the commoners would feel ill at ease; and to give anyone an uncomfortable feeling would be the worst breach of etiquette.

V

The history of art shows that it must, for its fuller development and preservation, have a Mecaenus or a Lorenzo de Medici. Nearly all of our various arts and crafts owe their growth to powerful patrons. *Cha-no-yu* would not have enlisted a large following, had it not been taken under the wings of the Ashikaga Shoguns of the Muromachi Age or of Hideyoshi (otherwise known as Taiko), the tenure of whose power is known as the Momoyama Age.

Rikyu found in Taiko an ardent adherent of Teaism. This warrior politician, who has been compared by European writers to Napoleon, was a restless soul with unbounded energy. He harboured the ambition to conquer the whole continent of Asia and really started on the enterprise with a good deal of success. But strange to relate, it was he who directed the attention of the whole country to this gentle art, by bestowing favours on its representative. He visited private tea-rooms, had a number built in his palace-grounds, distributed

precious bowls and other tea utensils as a reward for military exploits, and once even went so far as to send out a general summons to the public to hold a teaist party in Kyoto. The day set for the unique celebration was the first day of November, 1587. It was announced that anyone who had acquired skill in the art was invited irrespective of profession or social status. Though only three hundred and sixty people responded to the call, it served as the greatest propaganda for *cha-no-yu*—stamping it with quasi-governmental recognition and approval. A Chinese proverb says, “What the princes love, the people carry to its extreme.” That Hideyoshi loved it for its own sake is possible; but the more probable motive for his patronage was the salutary influence the ceremony exerted socially and morally. Not only did he see in it an instrument for calming the over-fiery spirit of the age, but also a channel into which he could divert the busy tongue of gossip from criticism of public affairs. The clever idea of Alcibiades in cutting his favourite dog’s tail is jejune, compared with the cunning of the Japanese general. Whatever his private motive, Hideyoshi’s encouragement had a lasting and widespread influence, so that the tea ceremony became a popular institution among all classes of society. It had also the effect of evaluating antique ware (curios, so to speak), and further of forming a new standard of taste. This particular phase of teaistic influence is most noticeable in the landscape gardening, the house architecture, the domestic decoration, the colour of costume, the social etiquette and general manners.

In our language "tea-less" (*mu-cha*) connotes rude or violent, "bitter-tea" (*ku-cha*) disorderly or confused. We also speak of great refinement of the art that conceals art, as an astringent (*shibui*) taste, reminding one of the tannin in tea. Not only in things material, but in the behaviour and manners, the influence of *cha-no-yu* has been uplifting. Hence, our girls, who have not the same social opportunities as in the Western countries, look up to the tea-room as a finishing school. In all secondary institutions of education for girls, there is a course in the tea ceremony.

To return to our story, the rich and the noble vied, forgetful of the primitive simplicity so strongly emphasized by Rikyu, in acquiring bowls and tea-pots, kettles and braziers, of all forms and sizes, from far and near. It was in this way that the trade with the Philippine Islands was first started: for there was found (imported thither from elsewhere, Southern China or South Seas?) a peculiar kind of earthenware, known among connoisseurs as "Luzon jars."¹ Fabulous prices were

¹ Morga writes: "On this island, Luzon, particularly in the provinces of Manilla, Pamána, Pangasinán, and Ylóc, very ancient clay vessels of a dark brown colour are found by the natives, of a sorry appearance; some of a middling size, and others smaller, marked with characters and stamps. They are unable to say either when or where they obtained them; but they are no longer to be acquired, nor are they manufactured in the islands. The Japanese prize them highly, for they have found that the root of a herb which they call Tscha (tea), and which when drunk hot is considered as a great delicacy and of medicinal efficacy by the kings and lords in Japan, cannot be effectively preserved except in these vessels; which are so highly esteemed all over Japan that they form the most costly articles of their show-rooms and cabinets. Indeed, so highly do they value them that they overlay them externally with fine

paid for vessels of fantastic shapes and ancient make. The few ships that visited foreign ports in those days could bring back nothing more precious than bizarre utensils that could be put to the service of the tea ceremony, whatever might have been their original uses in the countries where they were made. But who decided that a certain pot, say from Borneo or Sumatra, was fit for use in *cha-no-yu*? Who was the judge of the right colour of stoneware to grace a tea-room? Thus was to be established a new æsthetic standard.

It was only natural that Rikyu was looked upon as the highest authority to refer to in questions of propriety and taste. It is said that as a connoisseur, he made a fortune and that he was guilty of mean tricks, which so easily tempt the connoisseur in his calling. When in 1591, he was so suddenly condemned to death by Hideyoshi, it was rumoured

gold embossed with great skill, and enclose them in cases of brocade; and some of these vessels are valued at and fetch from 2,000 tael to 11 reals. The natives of these islands purchase them from the Japanese at very high rates, and take much pains in the search for them on account of their value, though but few are now found on account of the eagerness with which they have been sought for.

“When Carletti, in 1597, went from the Philippines to Japan, all the passengers on board were examined carefully, by order of the governor, and threatened with capital punishment if they endeavoured to conceal ‘certain earthen vessels which were wont to be brought from the Philippines and other islands of that sea,’ as the king wished to buy them all. . . . ‘These vessels were worth as much as 5, 6, and even 10,000 scudi each; but they were not permitted to demand for them more than one Giulio (about a half Paolo).’ In 1615 Carletti met with a Franciscan who was sent as ambassador from Japan to Rome, who assured him that he had seen 130,000 scudi paid by the king of Japan for such a vessel; and his companions confirmed the statement. Carletti also alleges, as the

that dishonest monetary dealing was the cause. His admirers whispered other reasons, one of which hinted that Hideyoshi was enamoured of his daughter and asked him to put her in his service, but that on persistently refusing the offer and the command, the poor father was charged with some vague crime of which he was innocent. The death warrant ran that "He would graciously be given death," which means that he could put an end to himself by his own hand. He was then 69 years old. On the day appointed he had his favourite sanctuary, the tea-room, cleaned and he himself attended to its decoration by a few dainty sprays of flowers. He made ready by burning incense for the final purification, and by putting on a new garment. Shutting himself in, he bade a dignified farewell to life befitting a brave *samurai*, an enlightened Buddhist and a consummate artist.

Whatever his real guilt may have been, his end

reason for the high price, ' that the leaf cia or tea, the quality of which improves with age, is preserved better in those vessels than in all others. The Japanese besides know these vessels by certain characters and stamps. They are of great age and very rare, and come only from Cambodia, Siam, Cochin China, the Philippines, and other neighbouring islands. From their external appearance they would be estimated at three or four quatrini (two dreier) . . . It is perfectly true that the king and the princes of that kingdom possess a very large number of these vessels, and prize them as their most valuable treasure and above all other rarities . . . and that they boast of their acquisitions, and from motives of vanity strive to outvie one another in the multitude of pretty vessels which they possess."

"Many travellers mention vessels found likewise amongst the Dyaks and the Malays in Borneo, which, from superstitious motives, were estimated at most exaggerated figures, amounting sometimes to many thousand dollars."—(Cole, *Chinese Pottery in the Philippines, Field Museum of Natural History*, 1912).

hallowed the art he founded. He left the impression that he had sealed his teaching with his blood. Did his master "give" him death, that his name and his art be made immortal?

The memory of Rikyu is held in deep veneration with us. His name deserves to be known everywhere by those kindred spirits who bewail the havoc wrought by luxury and extravagance, who loathe the horrors of war and disdain the devastating influence of materialism, who long for the simple habits and the enjoyment of nature, who yearn for the quiet communion of souls, and who, while enjoying the countless blessings of this world, have still their gaze turned upon those of the next. For such spirits, another "ism" may not prove too onerous an addition to their vocabulary.

ON HAIKU

“Canons of verse I introduced, and neatly chiselled with,
To look, to scan : to plot, to plan : to twist, to turn, to woo :
On all to spy ; in all to pry.”

—*Aristophanes, “The Frogs.”*

I

AMONG the numerous forms of literary compositions that have come into existence in Japan, in order to provide modes of expression suitable to various mental moods and temperaments, none has attracted in Europe as much attention as *haiku*—perhaps the briefest rhetorical device anywhere invented. Consisting of only seventeen syllables divided into three lines, it shares some features of the sonnet and can perhaps be best compared with it. In the standard structure of the sonnet, there are three periods or breaks in thought, expressed in the fifth line of the octave, the beginning of the sestet, and in the last line, which should be the climax. It is this tripartite character of the sonnet that can be compared with the three lines of the *haiku*. Otherwise the two forms are very remote from each other, both in their object and technique. There are certain other forms in Europe, especially in countries of Romance and Celtic languages, which are almost as short. Some forms of Welsh

prosody—such as the cywydd metre, consisting of an indefinite number of lines of seven syllables each, or the englyn form consisting of four lines of 10, 6, 7, 7 syllables respectively—are perhaps the best examples of poetical brevity in Europe. Or perhaps Spain affords more compact forms in solea, seguidilla and cuarteta. But these forms have scarcely been adopted beyond the frontiers of their native land. And as far as a geographical diffusion is concerned, it is only the triolet that may be said to have won any degree of universality in Europe and America. The triolet has not changed its form ever since its beginning in the 13th century. Consisting of only eight lines, it has its first, fourth and seventh lines repeated, and again its second and eighth are repetitions. So, practically, it consists of five lines only—like our *uta*, of which I shall speak later. Mr. Edmond Gosse says of the triolet: “It is charming; nothing can be more ingeniously mischievous, more playfully sly, than this tiny trill of epigrammatic melody, turning so simply on its own innocent axis.”

Mr. William L. Schwartz has made an interesting study of the *haiku* in his *Japan in French Poetry*.¹ In the late sixties, the French Impressionist painters discovered the art of Japan and they were followed by their compatriot literati. It is striking that, beginning with Catulle Mendès' poem on the Sun-goddess, so many of the literary productions on Japanese themes took the form of the sonnet. Heredia's famous sonnets on the samurai and the

¹Publications of The Modern Language Association of America (vol. xi., No. 2).

daimyo were called "transpositions" of Japanese colour prints. Chapron de Chateaubriant and Levet chose some Japanese subjects for their sonnets.

But the man who has given wide currency to *haiku* and *haiku* form in France is the rising philosopher, Monsieur Paul-Louis Couchoud. His study of *haiku* appeared in *Les Epigrammes Lyriques du Japon* (1906), in *Les Lettres* edited by Fernand Gregh, who himself published some quatrains in the *haiku* style. Since then Neuville, Madame Burnat-Provins, Voisins, Peri, Challaye, Vocance (who wrote a number of *haiku* in the trenches at the front), and still later Jules Romains, Jacques Boulenger, René Maublanc, have either explained what *haiku* is or have themselves borrowed its form for expressing their own ideas. Mr. Schwartz notes that the growth of *haiku* has been stimulated by the War.

In dwelling somewhat at length on the growing popularity of *haiku* in France, I must do justice to English students through whose works it found its way to France. Aston's *Japanese Literature* and Professor Basil H. Chamberlain's *Japanese Poetry* and his essay on *Basho and the Poetic Epigram* antedated the spread of *haiku* in France.¹ Chamberlain's description is picturesque and accurate. "It is," he says, "the tiniest of vignettes, a sketch in barest outline, the suggestion, not the description, of a scene or a circumstance. It is a little dab of colour thrown upon a canvas one inch square, where the spectator is left to guess at the picture as best he

¹ See *Revue Franco-Nipponne*, 1ère Année, No. 1. Also *Le Haikai Français* in *Le Pampre*, Nos. 10-11 (1923).

may. Often it reminds us less of an actual picture than of the title or legend attached to a picture."

He has himself translated a large number, but confesses his own dissatisfaction with them. Lafcadio Hearn has also put into his inimitable English some of the more popular ones. Perhaps the largest collection in English was made by Mr. William N. Porter, who translated and collected 365 *haiku* under the title *A Year of Japanese Epigrams*. His selections are, however, of mixed value.

We cannot sympathise too deeply with anybody called to render into a foreign tongue the epigrammatic poems so peculiar to the national genius of our people; for it is the outcome of many varied factors of long duration. And it is my attempt to show what those influences were; but like so many forces that give a tangible result, they cannot be put in black and white for immediate comprehension. I can often hint at a few factors. Sometimes all I can aspire to do is to say what they are not. Most truly a Japanese artist spoke, when he wrote how he painted a white bird in Indian ink:

"Paint where it is not,
And the heron forthwith
Shows its spotless form!"

In speaking of *haiku* I shall relate what it strictly is not,—relate the atmosphere and the general intellectual surroundings of which it is a product.

II

Haiku, *hokku*, and *haikai* are interchangeably used for this form of prosody. Originally they all meant different things.

Haikai means literally "amusement" or "pleasantry," and the term had special reference to the contents of a regular poem (*uta* or *tanka*) rather than to the form of construction. The *uta* itself was as a rule serious, grave in character. Even lovers sang of yearning rather than of joy, more of parting than of meeting. But when on account of the subject treated or words used or the idea expressed, a poem assumed a humorous tone, it was called *kyōka* (a crazy verse) or *haikai* (pleasantry, a jest). We meet with this word in the anthology (*kokin-shū*) compiled in 950 A.D. Thus *haikai* meant a farce, satire, parody. As far as its form was concerned, it did not differ from an ordinary *uta*, which consists of five lines of 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables respectively, altogether of 31 syllables.

Of these five lines, the first three, consisting of 5, 7, 5 syllables, form the upper hemistich and are called the *hokku* or the "starting or initial hemistich," and the lower hemistich, containing the two lines of seven syllables each, is called the *age-ku* (the "lifting or finishing hemistich"), or *tsuke-ku* (the "attached hemistich").

The very simplicity of our prosody explains the widespread indulgence in literary diversions of various kinds. And to make mention now of only

one of them, the *renga*—to be appropriately translated “linkers” or “linking poetry,” a sort of “capping verses”—came into great vogue as early as the eleventh century among the courtiers, the literati and priests. *Renga* was a form of intellectual pastime, of a flow of wit and a feast of soul, and it was practised in social parties as well as in correspondence. When one person composes the upper or the lower hemistich, somebody else adds the wanted phrase to complete a poem. Sometimes a long conversation or even a religious discussion was carried on by this method. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the *renga* was so expanded that any number of hemistiches could be added, even as many as a hundred. It is easy to understand how it came to be made an instrument for the display of wit, and for the expression of passions of a lower order. *Facit indignatio versum!* A collection of these comic verses was first undertaken by the priest Soka Yamazaki (1465-1553). *Renga* was often identified with *haikai*, and, since “brevity is the soul of wit,” the *haikai* writers employed only the upper or opening hemistich, the *hokku*, leaving the lower to be supplied by the reader, like a good logician who states the premises so clearly that the conclusion is too obvious to state.

In this way were *renga*, *haikai*, and *hokku* identified both in name and in character. As to the term *haiku*, it is only the combination of *haikai* and *hokku-hai*, pleasantry joined with *ku*, phrase. Proficients in the art were called *haijin*, the *haikai*-men.

The popularity of *haikai* and the free use (and

abuse too?) made of it, has caused distinctions and modifications in its subject matter as well as in its diction. These took upon themselves such different names that they are bewildering to an outsider.

III

The distinguishing character of *haiku*, as compared with other forms of literary production in our language may be stated as follows:

The most important characteristic is, as stated above, its construction. It consists of three lines of 5, 7, 5 syllables, respectively, altogether of 17 syllables. This is the standard, the type. But in this respect as in so many other forms of versification, it allows an ample latitude for exceptions, varying from fifteen to as many as twenty-five syllables. What are here called syllables are really sounds, the Japanese language having fifty such in its syllabary, including no more than five clearly pronounceable vowels, a, i, u, e, o. All the consonants, when spelt in the Latin alphabet, must end in one of these vowels. This fact will make it more easily comprehensible why rhyming is not an important factor in our prosody, or else there would be a tedious recurrence of the five primary sounds. There is no rhyme in *uta*, nor in *haiku*. Alliteration is possible and abundant use is made of it.

Neither the *uta* nor its derivative *haiku* is intended for singing. Both can be chanted and the *uta* is on very formal occasions—say in the poetical contest at the Emperor's Court—when it is read out

with such intonation as to entitle it to a musical utterance.

There are a number of poetical compositions, all based on the distribution of 5 and 7. Some scholars are of opinion that these 5's and 7's can be disintegrated into the more primitive 2's and 3's intended for musical accompaniment. Naturally, for singing purposes all degrees of epithesis and prosthesis, as well as of ecstasis and acopope, are permitted.

It may rightly be questioned how a *haiku* can fall under the classification of poetry, when it has no rhyme, nor can it be sung. To this, it may be answered that generally the sentiment expressed, is not in itself so effusive or emotional as to be helped by musical accompaniment. What Brunetière said of modern lyrics in Europe applies to *haiku*, namely that they sing themselves in the heart, not on the tongue.

Let me repeat then, that the first characteristic of *haiku* is its literary form—a form intended for a literary purpose rather than for a vocal, for eyes and not for ears.

The *haiku* has another literary device to distinguish it from other compositions, by possessing a few, very few, particles called *kire-ji* (cut letters) used to “cut” off words in order to make it clear whether they are the subject, whether they end a sentence, etc. In such condensed compositions as *haiku*, the “cut-words” perform a function which would require long phrases in prose. I may mention in particular two particles *ya* and *keri*, as most frequently employed in the *haiku*. The former is used in various ways, but chiefly to denote that the

word preceding it is in the nominative case; and the latter to show that the sentence is affirmative. It is not at all unusual for a *haijin* to omit a verb.

One more observation, to illustrate a not essential but a favourite literary feature of the *haiku*.

Owing to its brevity, a *haijin* must stretch every word to its utmost. He will even make a word carry double its ordinary burden. This is done not only by the common practice of paro-nomasia and paragram, but by allusion and innuendo. *Haiku* was, like its parent *renga*, too freely made an instrument for the subtle expression of malignity and ridicule. This abuse of the dainty literary composition is, however, largely counter-balanced by another characteristic.

A good *haiku* contains in one way or other, reference to a season of the year. So indispensable is this time-element considered that *haiku* is called "the Literature of Seasons." Whereas all our anthologies are, according to a very old custom divided into the four seasons of the year, and the rest into poems of Congratulation, Condolence, and Miscellanies, and of course into Poems of Love (the last mentioned forming the largest bulk), a collection of *haiku* ignores this last most prolific of poetical effusions. Are amorous verses tabooed then? Are *haijin* too cynical to love? Not exactly. Only the poems are classified under the rubric of different periods of the year, according to the season mentioned or suggested, never so faintly, in the verses. A total subordination of the heart to the motion of the earth!

This apparently forced naturalism has a justifica-

I

tion in this, that the seasons have metonymical equivalents for all kinds of natural phenomena. In its essence, a *haiku* is an expression of a feeling aroused by nature. It shows how the heart responds to outside influence. Is it warm? How or what did you feel under the summer heat? Do you hear a sparrow chirp or see a lily flowering? What noise awakened you this morning? Since natural phenomena vary according to the seasons, they are considered in terms of the latter or vice versa. It is not necessary to mention spring or autumn, summer or winter, in so many words, for they can be quite easily hinted at by naming a plant or an animal, or the moon's phases or the sun's inclination, the stars' brightness or the colour of mountains. To carry out this idea, there has gradually come into existence a *haiku*-calendar, based mainly on close observation but sometimes far-fetched and conventional. We can easily agree why the *ume* (a kind of plum) should stand for early spring, or snow for winter. But why should we associate the full moon with mid-autumn or showers with late summer? In Japan the peony and the wisteria blossom at the same time, but according to the *haijin* the latter is consigned to spring and the former to summer.

When you read of a "long day" (*hi-naga*) in a *haiku*, it means a day in spring, though the days are longer in summer. Similarly, "a long night" (*naga-yo*) should, of course, suggest winter as an astronomical fact, but the *haiku* places it in autumn.

The examples I have given are rather subversive of the scientific foundation of the definition of *haiku*

as a Literature of Seasons. While the *haiku* calendar cannot pretend to objective accuracy, it professes a deep insight into the human mind, in recognising that instinctive response to outside stimuli, the effect of psychological vocabulary. Take the example of the peony and wisteria. None can deny that they flower at the same time; but the large glaring red blossom of the peony impresses the mind—perhaps in its association with fire—with the same effect as warmth, whereas the pendant blue of the wisteria—maybe reminding one of the sea—imparts a cooler and more vernal feeling. Take another example, about the relative length of the day. Nobody doubts the fact of daytime being longer and night time shorter in summer, than in either the preceding or the following season. But psychologically considered, do we not feel the days longer when they begin to increase in spring than in summer when we are accustomed to their length? And in the same way a night seems, that is, is felt, to be longer in autumn than in winter. To take one more example. Why, of the twelve months of the year, do we call the moon of mid-autumn the full moon? The meteorology of the Japanese islands answers this question. For causes not necessary to go into here, the atmosphere of Japan gets drier toward winter and the sky is consequently clearest at this time.

Thus in some way, it may be by giving a precise hour and date, or by a broad hint, the season of the year is marked, “read in,” as is the expression. There are verses that contain no indication as to a time, made by some of the best poets; but they are

to be considered out of the ordinary, and are classified separately.

There are two good reasons, external and internal, for the mention of, or the allusion to, the season in the *haiku*. The first is quite evident. It is to give to the reader a clue to the circumstances under which the *haiku* was composed—circumstances which, if described, would swell the composition with verbosity. In an old theatre there used to be hung a card, “This is a forest,” “This is a palace,” or “It is mid-day,” etc. The slightest hint as to a season should open to the eye of the reader’s mind, a wide vista of nature, its varied colours and the myriad forms of its objects.

Important as the external reason is for *haiku* writers to “read in” a season, it dwindles into a secondary place, when it is compared with the internal reason.

What a prominent rôle Nature plays in a poet’s senses and soul! As I write these lines I pick up an English anthology, lying by my side. So spiritual a poem as *The Intimations of Immortality* begins with the lambs frolicking in a meadow. Another, Lowell’s *The Holy Grail*, opens with a description of an English June. I shall not cumber this paper with further illustrations. Just as “over his keys a musing organist, beginning doubtfully and far away, first lets his fingers wander as they list,” so is a poet apt to lay bare his soul to nature, to inhale the fragrance of flowers, hear the breeze sighing through the druid wood, and bathe itself in the soft rays of the moon. What is poetry, but an

expression of the spiritual impulse given by Nature, or of the spiritual meaning discovered in Nature?

III

It has been noted elsewhere that the *haikai* began with the poetical "linkers," in which the cultured circle indulged for their pastime. The "linkers," however, constituted a regular poem or *uta*, which, having originated and developed in the court, was strictly a court literature—more so than the so-called *lettres courtoise* of the French. The beauty of the *uta* lay in its elegant diction, rhetorical polish, and refinement of feeling: but it was prone to become vapid, shallow and a mere string of euphonious words.

When the "linking" pastime came into vogue, the people who took part had to say something instead of merely grinding out pretty phrases. They had to do this impromptu. They had not always time to search a lexicon of poetic expressions. The *renga*, therefore, has more live ideas, richer content and less verbal and formal elegance. As one follows the development of *haikai* from *renga* and of *renga* from *uta*, one is vividly reminded of the changes in style from Aeschylus to Euripides and from Euripides to Aristophanes. The intellectual plane of the Greek drama and the Japanese prosody is different indeed; but the character of the changes is strikingly similar. Aeschylus would keep up the dignity of the *uta*, Euripides would show in *renga* "scenes of common

life, the things we know and see," Aristophanes would freely indulge in the liberties of *haikai*.

It seems to be a psychological law that the sense of the ludicrous is more consonant with a smaller than a larger size. A gigantic statue of Silenus ceases to be comical; it becomes hideous. A Daibutsu may well take huge dimensions; but work in ivory is more suitable for the display of humour. In literature, too, how few are the works that sustain the sense of the ludicrous for any length of time? In brevity is the very soul of wit.

It was mainly for the expression of repartee, innuendo and satire that the court wits needed the *renga*. What could be more alluring than for the democratic makers of hemistichs, to stress the humorous side of their productions?

Under the cloak of harmless amusement, provocation of mirth, pleasantries, could they hide rancour and malignity, discontent and criticism, villification and vituperation. When the writing of *haikai* grew in course of time to be a distinct profession, the "professors" were supposed to be men detached from the world, indeed from the routine work of the common day, who, standing above the things of the earth, could judge of them more justly. They were dressed somewhat like a priestly class, and in the name of their profession, took great liberties in expression. There was a strong temptation for them to become cynical verse grinders of a rather contemptuous and contemptible character.

They opened schools where boys brought their

little verses to be corrected. There were fixed fees charged for combination of letters.

The ever-increasing use of popular and vulgar terms in *haikai*, the adoption of the meanest article for a subject, or a trifling event, has rendered the *haikai* more and more popular, and degraded it lower and lower in tone. The feverish craze for it was no less than that for the present cross-words game. It was even perverted into a money-making concern. The first line was announced by a professional *haijin* for the public and the succeeding lines were to be sent in for a prize, or sometimes the last line was given out to be capped by competitors for a sum of money. The curious ventured to bet who would be the winner. So widespread did the *haikai* contest grow, that towards the end of the seventeenth century laws were issued prohibiting the new vice.

IV

It was about this time that the man appeared who not only introduced a reform but brought about a fundamental revolution in what should have been kept as a dainty art. This hero was of a true *haikai* type, unobtrusive, gentle, as far removed from a revolutionary, as usually associated with that name, as the north pole is from the south. I shall elsewhere give the instructions which he wrote for his pupils to follow in their journeys. They show the man, modest, retiring, meek and scrupulous.

Basho, as he called himself from a plantain tree that grew in his garden, breathed a new spirit into the *haikai*. To change the figure, he thrust into the tide swelling with mud the freshest and cleanest stream. Hanshichiro Matsuo—for such is the real name of Basho—was descended from an old samurai stock, being born in 1644 in the province of Iga. When he was eight years of age he was appointed as companion to a son of his feudal prince. He spent fifteen years in the most intimate friendship with this youth, who was only a few years his senior. But when in 1666 he died, Basho could not recover from his sorrow and disappointment and often begged to be released from service, for he felt he could no longer continue his career as a samurai. After a half-year of intolerable grief, he managed one night to escape from the premises, taking with him a lock of his deceased friend's hair. As he fled he nailed a verse on the neighbour's gate-post:

“Sunder'd far as clouds,
The wild geese part with friends
For a while and aye.”

After depositing his friend's lock in the monastery of Mt. Koya, he relinquished his knightly habits and began his travel up and down the whole country. In his wanderings he came in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, particularly of humbler classes. He studied their life, felt their care and sorrow.

Himself a deeply pious soul, Basho found in the *haikai* a mode of expressing the pith of his thought and feeling. Religious sentiment, unlike a philo-

sophical dissertation or a scientific demonstration, does not need many words or long disquisitions to express itself.

“The Beatitudes” are about the longest sermon of Christ’s; but even they consist of a series of thoughts not organically connected. “Yea” and “Nay” are in most cases sufficient in a religious converse. Spiritual truths are simple to state; being ultimate they require no explanation for their proof. They are grasped by intuition, that exercise of man’s highest faculty, of which speech is but a weak interpreter. They are open and intelligible only to such as have attained the plane of cosmic sense, and these care but little for an audible language and less for a written.

One of the most typical *haikai* in this respect is an old and well-known piece by Teihitiu (1608-71) who, overwhelmed by the beauty of the flower-covered mountains of Yoshino, could utter no articulate word, but simply wandered about among the cherry trees, ejaculating and exclaiming, “Oh!”

“Uttering only
‘Oh! Oh! Oh!’ I roam over
Yoshino’s hills ablow.”

V

I have already spoken of the seasons and of Nature playing a prominent rôle in the *haiku*. I gave an “external” reason for this; but the real, the “internal,” the spiritual reason, lies in the fact that *haiku*, as conceived by Basho, is a verbal

expression of cosmic consciousness. What do I mean by cosmic consciousness? Its predominant characteristic is, as its name suggests, the sense of one's own oneness with the universe, the feeling in the words of Tennyson, that:

"The mortal limit of the Self was loosed,
And passed into the nameless, as a cloud
Melts into heaven."

It is "a consciousness," to quote from Edward Carpenter, "in which the contrast between the ego and the external world, and the distinction between subject and object fall away."

If I am not greatly mistaken—for I am not by profession or pretention a *haijin*—it is this merging of personality in nature that made nature so dear and near to Basho's heart.

Compassion was a keynote of his character. He looked at things with the eye of one who knew their suffering, and saw men with the tenderness of a lover. He was a lonely body. He liked and even cherished loneliness. His mind worked best in lonely surroundings. One observes a touch of autumnal sadness in many of his verses written in gayest spring or resplendent summer. To quote but one: In his wanderings he reaches a little-frequented old battlefield of Koromo Fort, in the north of Japan. On a blazing summer day he seeks shelter under a tree on a small eminence, sits down on his large straw hat and surveys the plain where five hundred years ago was fought one of the fiercest battles of our history. He sees the battle raging; hears the cry of the onslaught. Hundreds and thousands of men and horses surge

back and forth, with flying pennants of every hue. But now, it is only the shrill cicadas that rend the air, and the tall grass wave in the breeze. Basho has been meditating motionless for a long while. Slowly he takes out of his small parcel writing materials and jots down:

“The summer grass!—
 ’Tis all that’s left
 Of ancient warriors’ dreams.”

He feels intensely the vanity of human life. Its empty honours, vain ambitions, and transient pleasures are all indifferent to him; and yet how many risk their conscience and their lives for these trashy ends! He feels like laughing, at least like smiling. Life sometimes appears to him like a huge joke.

An habitual pathos of temperament is subject to reaction—to frequent outbursts of humour, due, perhaps, to an unconscious attempt at mental equilibrium. Humour has been defined as “thinking in jest and feeling in earnest.” And a writer who studied *facitae* remarked that “true humour is never divorced from pathos; and it is usually allied with the power of seeing the poetry in common things.”¹ It differs from wit in that it comes of emotion, whereas wit is purely intellectual and a product of art without underlying seriousness. Here and there in Basho’s writings exuberant humour sparkles between the lines but never—and this is the crucial point in which he differs from his predecessors—does his humour carry him beyond

¹ A. Werner, in his Introduction to *Italian Humour*.

propriety in language or delicacy of feeling. In one of his precepts to his pupils he speaks of humour as an outward cloak in a *haiku*, to cover the loneliness of soul. To a mind trained in religious meditations, life must have seemed full of contradictions and incongruities—favourite targets for sharp wits at which to throw their bolts! But Basho treated his subjects in a kindly and elevating spirit.

It was even his personal character which rescued *haiku* from sinking into bathos and banter. In this respect, too, we can compare it with the triolet. In Old France it was employed for serious verse; but the wits of Rambouillet turned it for purposes of epigram and satire, and when later it was introduced into England, it was again used for light shafts of wit and empty compliment. Hence even so earnest an advocate of the triolet as Dobson¹ could speak of it only as “Admirable vehicles for the expression of trifles or jeux d’esprit.”

The effort to view everything from a lofty point is well illustrated in the case of a correction Basho made in his pupil’s composition. One summer day, when a young man recited to him the impromptu verse:

“A pepper pod² it is
When a red dragon-fly
Is shorn of its wings.”

straightway Basho corrected it, saying how could one be so cruel even in imagination to a little insect:

“A red dragon-fly it is
When a pepper pod
Is given wings.”

¹ Preface to *Latter Day Lyrics*, 1878. ² Of the Cayenne kind.

He added as an admonition, that a good *haijin* must so accustom his mind to think from the low to the high, from a plant to an animal, from the material to the spiritual.

Basho taught that the secret of *haiku* is to liberate oneself from the shackles of material existence and to shake off the chains of logic in order that he may move freely in the region of *fūga*.

What he means exactly by *fūga* is not easy to tell. It is a favourite term with him and his followers. A definition is, however, never given. To define would be to rationalize, and that contradicts the very essence of *fūga*. From the instances in which this word is employed, however, we may infer that the term designates the state of mind detached from the mundane existence, even from self, the mental state called in Indian metaphysics the "mukti" or "samadhi" and translated as the Brahminic splendour—what I have spoken of as the Cosmic Sense.

The Japanese term most commonly used in this sense is *satori*. It is possible that as this savours too much of an intellectual quality, Basho preferred a more artistic *fūga*. The discipline of *haikai* was summarized by him in three articles.

“ 1. Remember that man's peace and welfare are based on the five moral relations (between parent and child, husband and wife, master and servant, brothers and sisters, friend and friend).

2. Remember that the ludicrous is only the outer name of *haikai*.

3. Keep in mind that loneliness is the substance of *fūga*.

If you thoroughly grasp these principles, though you may adorn yourself in garments of brocade

you will not forget the loneliness of one shivering on a single straw mat. Though you may feast on the choicest delicacies of land and sea, you will not despise a few drops from a humble gourd. You will understand in your mind the changes going on in the world and you can lend your ear to the words of laughter and thus be truly a man of *haikai*."

Here follow Basho's instructions to his pupils to be observed in travelling in the cause of *haikai*.

1. You may stay overnight in a place, but never over a night. When you have to sleep under a tree, imagine yourself lying on a warm mat.

2. Bear no arms, be it an inch of steel. Take not the life of any creature.

3. Of a family who has a father or a master's wrong to avenge, approach not even the gate. You sympathize with those who feel they have enemies with whom they cannot share heaven and earth.

4. Let your raiment and household goods be appropriate to your condition. Neither too much nor too little of them is right. Let them be in a proper degree.

5. Eat not willingly the meat of fish, bird or beast. He who indulges in fat eating is easily affected by other ills. Remember an old saying, "Do a hundred things on a meagre diet."

6. Show not your productions unsolicited. To refuse a request is likewise not commendable. To explain without being asked is no explanation. Not to answer when questioned is not well either.

7. Though the path is dangerous, think not of fatigue. If the thought of fatigue arises turn straightway back.

8. Ride not on horseback or sedan chair. Let a withered branch be your thin leg.

9. Take no *saké* willingly. At a banquet, when it is hard to decline, stop at a small quantity. There is a limit beyond which is trouble. The use of vinegar on festal occasions is due to hatred of intoxication. Keep away from *saké*. Beware.

10. Forget not tips and fare for ferry.

11. Speak not of others' shortcomings, nor of your own excellence. To speak evil of others and to boast of self is the meanest of tricks.

12. Talk only of *haiku*. If conversation begins on other topics, take a nap and rest yourself.

13. Cultivate no intimacy with women friends. They are no good as teachers or as pupils. If any woman wishes to learn the *haiku*, let her approach us through a third person. The sexes are created solely for continuation of the race. Any undue indulgence detracts for concentration of mind. The *haiku* is possible only by utmost exertion of mind.

14. Refrain from taking whatever has an owner, be it a twig or a spear of grass. The mountains and rivers have their owners, too. Look out.

15. Seek and search mountains and rivers and relics of ancient things. Never attach your own name to them.

16. Forget not one who has taught you aught, be it but a single letter. Unless you understand every phrase, do not pretend to teach others. Only after you have thoroughly built yourself can you give instruction.

17. Slight not him who has entertained you with a night's shelter or a meal. Neither fawn upon him. Whoever behaves so mean is a slave of this world. He who would learn *haiku* must associate with the like-minded.

18. Direct your thought on the eve and on the morn. To go out in the eve is undesirable. Give no trouble to others. Remember the saying, familiarity begets contempt. Repel not the poorest victual.

VI

It is admitted by the admirers of Basho that in his famous epigram on the frog leaping into a pond he reached the perfection of his art and the depth of his *Weltanschauung*. Now the mention of the uncanny amphibian, so seldom chosen for a literary theme, reminds us of Aristophanes. Further up in the present paper I alluded to the similarity between the changes in the Greek drama and those in Japanese prosody. I spoke there of their difference in the intellectual plane. So, here

again, under the heading of frog, there is a wide gap between the 1533 lines of the great Comedy and the three short lines of the *haiku*. If between the comic lines of Aristophanes we detect an ardent strain of patriotism, there is breathed in those of Basho an untold pathos of life—a mere bubble, less than a span.

The story how this verse was improvised will give us a glimpse of its meaning. One day, while he was in his little house in Fukagawa (a crowded and plebeian district of Tokyo) Basho received a call from two of his friends. When one of them, a renowned Buddhist priest by name of Buko, asked how Basho had been engaged recently, he replied: "The heavy rains have washed away the green moss." This seemingly irrelevant reply will be altogether unintelligible without an acquaintance with Buddhist writings. In one of them there is an oft-quoted passage: "The green moss, though it grows thicker every day, is by itself wholly free of dust." Probably Basho had this verse in mind when he was speaking. He meant that some adverse circumstances had slightly disturbed the equanimity of his soul. Let it be realised that, among the followers of the Zen sect of Buddhism, it was very usual for a dialogue to take this enigmatic form. The priest asked him: "But where was rain before it fell, and where the moss before it grew?" Just at this turn of the conversation, there was heard a splash from a small pond in the garden. Basho replied:

"A frog took a sudden plunge—
Then is heard a splash."

Buko was so impressed by the ready answer that he presented the poet with a baton (*nyoi*) which he carried in his hand. The answer, however, was still incomplete from the standpoint of *haiku* rules. For there were only the two last lines. When the two friends left, Basho's pupils suggested each a different phrase to cap them. One proposed, "In evening's dusk"; the second "When wrapt in loneliness"; the third, his best pupil, Kyorai, "A yellow rose," which is a flower often used as a symbol of the brevity and vanity of life. The master, after listening to the exposition of the various views, simply added a couple of words, "into an olden pond," and thus this little *haiku* stands:

"Into an old pond
A frog took a sudden plunge,
Then is heard a splash."

Ambiguous as these lines, or rather as their contents are, it is interesting to note in what esteem the author himself held them. Long after they were penned, he wrote the following paragraph in explanation: "In the heavens and the earth there is exquisite refinement; and in every phenomenon of nature there is elegance. Compassion is the soul of Buddha. Make friends with the seasons as they come along by the laws of creation. Wherever you look, you find flowers. In whichever quarter your thoughts turn, there shines the moon. Man's mind, if it is not in the moon, is brute-like: if it is not in the flowers, is no better than a savage's. Flee from the savage mind and from the brute's and return to creation's purity."

In this explanatory note, no direct allusion is

made to the animal in question. Indeed, nowhere is it introduced into polite society. Basho advertently chose this unwelcome creature to point out a moral that there is no ugliness in Nature, that since all life is equal, no shape or form should prejudice us one against another. But this is a small lesson, a sort of foot-note, attached to a larger message he meant to convey. That message related to the evanescence of life and the lesson was to detach oneself from it. If the message was not new, his method of presentation was original. An English writer who paid particular attention to the study of "Fun,"¹ speaks of "humour as depending on violent contrasts and wit on abstruse resemblances." Basho's verse fits these definitions perfectly. What is more incongruous than that this ungainly reptile should be named to suggest a metaphysical truth? None the less is the resemblance striking between the momentary splash of the water and the transiency of life. The animal was crawling on the land, enjoying the air and the flies; for some reason or other, the spirit moved him suddenly to take a jump into a pond—a transmigration from a terrestrial to an aqueous world—and in so doing, he caused a stir and a noise in the stillest water: the noise lasted for one second. It is this phenomenon of sound which Basho likens to human life—a passage from Eternity to Eternity, "a conflux of eternities" as Carlyle calls it; or the few "noisy years" which "seem moments in the being of the Eternal Silence" as Wordsworth puts it.

¹C. M. Davis, *Fun, Ancient and Modern*, 1878, 2 vols.

VII

If style is the man, as has been said by a Frenchman, Basho was the essence of *haiku*, and no wonder none came near his mark. When in 1694, at the age of fifty, he passed away peacefully and beautifully, attended by a small group of his faithful disciples, *haiku* lost its ornament and highest pride.

In an age far removed from Puritanism, and in constant contact with men of Bohemian habits, it is remarkable how he kept up purity and simplicity of life. Perfectly content with the most frugal manner of living, he courted neither wealth nor fame. His sole pleasure was in training his three thousand disciples—of whom one hundred attained a certain degree of distinction—in the art of *haiku*. He never tired of repeating that the object of his art was to express “The enduring in the fleeting,” to put into the words of the common day, truths that are eternal. He constantly insisted to his followers that they must first of all have something to say, to have an idea, to get hold of some truth—and then to let loose the tongue. A very simple teaching this, but not easy for the *haijin* to obey: to them the joining together of words became a habit and a profession.

After Basho's death there was a long period of stagnation. A few contemporaries who survived him, notably Onitsura, Kikaku, Shiko, left verses that still serve as milestones in the development of

haiku; but, lacking a master, his followers split into different schools and these, instead of emulating his spirit, quarrelled among themselves and produced neither flower nor fruit. Nearly a century elapsed before another master, Buson (1770-1780) took up the broken thread. Two decades later his mantle fell on Issa (1763-1827). Then followed long lean years until Shiki revived the art in the eighties of the last century. Since then, *haiku* has been taken up in earnest by many of note.

The new school makes it its chief concern to preach the realistic character of *haiku*. They say: "*Haiku* must be objective: it must give no insinuation of personal equation. You must only describe the thing itself." This advice sounds like that of Basho himself. But how can one describe an object unless one has an undertsanding of the thing itself? Basho had that Cosmic Sense by which he could feel the joys and the sorrows of all life; but, wanting this universal sense, can the human mind ever attain to objectivity?

For the mind to assume an objective attitude towards its surroundings, it must detach itself from them. It is precisely this detachment that is at once so fruitful of light and darkness in the soul of *haiku* votaries. As the windmill sails "may sweep you with their arm down in the mire or upward—to the stars," *haiku* can induce moral indifference and intellectual superficiality, or foster careful observation of nature, deepen human sympathies and elevate religious emotions.

How far this Liliputian plant, indigenous to Japan, can bear transplanting to an alien soil is a

question not to be lightly treated; for the tender flower owes its life primarily to the spiritual atmosphere in which it grew and only secondarily to its morphology.

AN EASTERN IDEA OF CHARITY

“Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.”—*St. James.*

I

Humanitarian work is of little account unless it is practical; but in order to make it so, it must be based on the knowledge of the social history and psychological characteristics of a people. Notions about poverty are not absolute, nor is its standard the same, throughout the world. Mercy is twice blessed, blessing him that takes and him that gives, only when the giver and the recipient are on terms of mutual understanding. “A gift without the giver is vain.” Yet we shall not peep too deeply into the motives that actuate the work of charity. We shall abide by its fruit. A word of wisdom that falls by accident from the lips of a fool does not make him wise, nor does a miser’s generous act, done from a mean motive, make him less of a miser.

To estimate properly humanitarian work in Japan we must acquaint ourselves with a few fundamental features of her national life, or else we shall lose right perspective by exaggeration or under-estimation of her efforts in this direction.

Among the features to consider in this connection are first of all the religious ideas prevalent in the country. Shinto is native to the soil and strictly ethic in character, and is nationalistic in outlook. Being a cult based on nature and ancestor worship, it takes little interest in active philanthropy. It has no theological doctrine to propound. It has no moral code to enforce. Loyalty to the ruler and love of the country are the utmost Shintoism has achieved in ethical lines. One great and profound principle that underlies Shintoism is an implicit faith in the innate goodness of human nature. This faith is condensed in one word—*Kan-nagara*—a word hard of translation. We may perhaps render it by “the god that he is,” the divinity that is in man—something like Mr. H. G. Wells’ “god the invisible king.” Partaker of the godlike, man is pure by nature and free from sin. What looks like sin is really only pollution. Shintoism exhorts us to be true to our natural instincts, but not to abuse them; to obey our natural impulses, but not to mar them with malice. Purity of heart and of spirit identifies man with the gods. Insisting upon meticulous cleanliness, it abhors contact with any sort of pollution, including childbirth, sickness, death. What relief in sorrow and suffering can we expect from the sticklers to ritualistic purity? We, therefore, find scarcely any humanitarian activity undertaken by Shinto votaries as such.

Far otherwise with Buddhism, which, soon after its introduction into the country (7th century), supplied just what was most wanting in Shinto. It is remarkable how the two religious systems com-

plemented each other—to the far greater credit of Buddhism. The infinitely deeper Buddhism took up the task of relieving distress, physical and spiritual, so much so that, in course of time, whatever was happy and of good augury was relegated to Shinto—such as marriage, official promotion, festive celebration—while the deeper concerns of life, its sorrows and its end, fell to the care of the followers of Buddha.

However, history (to be sure more or less legendary) records some humanitarian acts prior to the introduction of Buddhism. For example, the abolition of burying alive the servants of eminent personages when these died. It is said that in the year 2 B.C. according to popularly accepted chronology, when a brother of the Emperor Suinin died, and his suite was entombed alive, their cries so touched the Emperor that he forthwith ordered the practice to be stopped. Such a procedure is in perfect accord with a Shinto precept. Nine years later, at the interment of his consort, one hundred potters were engaged in making *haniwa*, clay figures of men and animals, to be put in the tomb in place of human beings. The substitution of earthen images for corpses has an additional advantage of cleanliness, so very precious to the Shinto conscience.

I may also note an act of humanitarianism that was committed, as it were, by mistake. In 462 A.D. Yuriaku, the reigning sovereign, interested himself in sericulture, introduced from China a couple of decades previously. The Empress reared the silk-worms, with her own hands and the Emperor

commanded an official to collect worms, called in Japanese *kaiko*, literally a "fosterling." The official charged with the task—not unlikely a Korean expert—did not understand his master rightly, and in a few days presented him with a number of infants (orphans?). The Emperor was highly amused and said to Sukaru: "I will give them to you to look after," and there was established under the palace wall an institution for the care of his juvenile protégés—a forerunner of the Committee on the welfare of children!

We do not hear of any public effort in our country for the amelioration of suffering until after the introduction of Buddhism. Early in the seventh century, with the zeal of the new convert, the royal family spared no pains to extol the blessings of Buddha by means of good works. It was at this time that some of our greatest religious buildings were erected and among them four public institutions—a dispensary, a hospital, a poor-house, and a general asylum.

Under the rule of the Empress Suiko (reign 593-628 A.D.) aided by the Regent Prince Shotoku, there was introduced wholesale the civilisation of Korea and China. It was at this time that our mediæval art reached its zenith, as is evidenced by the remains which make Nara still the goal of artists' pilgrimage. But the age has made other records than of art and beauty. In practical charity and in education too, it initiated a new era. The religious fervour of this reign continued for some decades and flared again into a flame in the middle of the eighth century.

The general spirit of the legislation of this period can be inferred from edicts forbidding the eating of meat (741 A.D.) and the killing of animals (752 A.D.), gambling by the use of dice (about 750), the drinking of intoxicating drinks (758). All these laws were motivated by deep religious piety and strong human pity. It was due to this same spirit that numerous public institutions were established — schools, hostels, monasteries, orphanages, asylums of different kinds, hospitals, dispensaries, reformatories and poor-houses. Public baths, which became a necessity to the Japanese, owe their inception to the ecclesiastical benefactors of this period. The moving spirit of the so great philanthropic enterprises was the Empress Komyo (this name, given her posthumously, means "Light.") A devout follower of Buddha, she once made a vow to wash in person one thousand mendicants. The last one to come was a leper of an advanced type, whose face could scarcely be deciphered and whose limbs were rotting vilely, emitting a most nauseating odour. True to her vow she bathed and cleansed him, and as she finished her sworn task she said: "Now be gone and see that thou tell none that I have washed thee." Whereupon the leper shone in radiance and said to her: "I am Buddha. See that thou tell none that thou hast washed me." So saying, the radiant form disappeared.

This story and another in a somewhat similar strain, raised the fame of the Empress' sanctity in the eyes of the populace. When she was about to die, she asked her attendants not to bury her when

she departed, but to throw her corpse on the moor for the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth to feed upon.

A desire apparently so abnormal can be born only from long and intense training of the spirit by "meditation on loathesomeness" (*asubhabhāvanā*), a steady observation on each process of the decay of the human body, from the moment life leaves it to the time when the white bones crumble into dust. He who watches the process is convinced more strongly than by any study of the equality of all flesh, finds who he is himself, perceives in female beauty only a sister skeleton, sees the vanity of life and yearns for the incorruptible.

The intense desire of this lady to alleviate the sufferings of her fellow creatures was the exemplification of the Buddhist doctrine of equality and the teaching of compassion, both of which, though instinctive to every healthy soul in every clime, are rarely made clear without a teacher and an example. It is by constant teaching from others and by repeated examples from the outside that the general mass comes to respond to its own inborn instincts of sympathy and brotherhood.

II

It may not be amiss to devote here a few lines to explain the Buddhist conception of poverty and compassion.

In Buddhist philosophy, poverty, or rather the suffering due to poverty, is conceived as a

phenomenon inevitable in the relentless process of causation and of the transmigration of souls. It is the consequence of deeds done in a previous existence. Excesses in one stage of life are followed by privation in the next, when the wheel comes full circle. Morally, it may be regarded as a punishment for a past misdeed, and as such it must be borne and lived through or else the evil will never be eliminated. This law of equivalence and compensation is of universal and rigorous application. It is deaf to all prayers. Does this harsh doctrine crush all feeling of sympathy and preclude acts of mercy and charity? The following anecdote supplies the answer.

Two priests were talking with the abbot of a certain monastery. Their conversation was interrupted by the sudden appearance of a beggar who came to the door asking for alms. One of the priests felt pity for the wretched creature and said: "Buddha taught us to have compassion for the suffering; I wish to give something to this man." The other stopped him by saying: "Buddha taught that suffering is the punishment for sins committed in a former life. We must not interfere with the working of the law of causality." The abbot listened to the arguments of his guests and said: "You are both right. Only remember that the urge of compassion we feel is most truly our own, and nobody else's. As to the former guilt of this man it is his concern and not ours. He may suffer according to one law; but let us give according to another."

Dr. A. Berriedale Keith has put the Buddhist idea

of Compassion in so clear and concise a manner, that a few lines from his book *Buddhist Philosophy* (pp. 279-81) will explain its nature far better than anything I can undertake. Says he: "The giver must not give for any personal advantage; he must practise what he is to realise in theory, the absence of difference between himself and others: what distinction is there between my pain and another's? If one should be relieved, so should that of another. He who loves himself must not love himself; to guard himself he must refrain from guarding himself. He must treat his neighbour precisely as himself. . . . The gift, therefore, to be useful must be accompanied by the threefold purity—recognition of the non-existence of the gift itself, of the giver, and of the recipient; it must be born of compassion, indeed, but also of vacuity."

As Dr. Keith goes on to explain, Buddhism recognises the two realms of truth, absolute and relative. In the former realm it knows of no reality, but in the latter it may well be that the mortal be touched by sorrow. The object of pity has no absolute existence; but none the less does the sense of pity stir the heart of flesh. Though it is of infinite importance that man should grasp absolute truth rather than that he should indulge in sentiments of Love and Pity, yet finite man can but arrive at the realm of the absolute through that of relativity.

"The practical effect of the doctrine," to quote Dr. Keith again, "is to encourage the ideal of compassion for all beings; the taking of the vow not to attain Buddhahood until all creatures have

been delivered is the logical outcome of the spirit of this reasoning; the true Bodhisattva cannot be liberated until all creatures are delivered, and egoism is thus entirely annihilated. Such general compassion demands great energy in giving, for which even study should be sacrificed."

Compassion and almsgiving are given a special niche in the palace of Buddhist virtues. As hatred is the deadliest of sins, so is compassion, its opposite, the highest of virtues. Man may commit folly from motives of charity; but even its extravagances are not to be condemned. Swedenborg defined Love as a desire to merge oneself in the very being of its object. Compassion from its very etymology means that—with this difference, that its object is viewed from a superior and selfless standpoint.

Compassion is an unuttered cry, the unshed tears, of a sensitive soul burdened with the woes of all the world and reched of the sorrows of all the centuries. Man born of woman cannot rid himself of this sense of universal sorrow, and his first instinct is to rescue his fellows. But this light, the light of all the lights that light man's path on earth and which lightens his labour, fades with the passing of years. Happy indeed is he who recovers this child-like Pity for all forms of suffering, and gives all he has and himself to make perfect the gift. The so-called "four boundless virtues" refer to love, pity, joy, and self-sacrifice—the first ever loving and forgiving, the second pitying all beings in all forms of existence, the third desiring to lead all pure pleasure to joy, and the last con-

templating all living things without partiality or passion. Whosoever practises these divine virtues will be born in heaven as princes of the four meditations.

May not one say without irreverence that Mercy is thrice blessed, blessing besides the giver and the taker God Himself? Lowell struck a lofty key when he sang of Sir Launfal breaking bread with a leper and thereby feeding himself, the leper and their Saviour. The common proverb current among us, "Charity is not for others' sake" subtly hints that an act of Pity redounds more to the elevation of one's own soul and to the glory of Budrha. Whosoever will truly do a charitable deed, must do it as a privilege of adding something to the general stock of human happiness, and hence he has no reason to feel any sense of superiority or excellence. For, a thousand pieces of gold cannot redeem one sinful stain of avarice or of one proud thought. Besides, who are you that you should be proud? Are you less deserving of fickle fortune's frowns? To give is a privilege. It is a favour not allotted to everyone. We fail to look upon it as a favour until we have lost all and have nothing more left to give. When we reach this extremity, we waken to see new truths. King Lear rose to oriental height when he would "reason not the need," but prayed for patience as "the true need." What a pity he fell so quickly into ungodly wrath!

Mencius, who cannot be accused of soaring too high, has said that, even in doling out alms to a wayside beggar, propriety must be observed.

According to Buddhist belief, those who give charity in a proud manner, though they do not go to hell, are only sowing the seed for becoming *asuras* (inferior forms of existence) in the future. We feel the force of Mencius' advice, especially in Japan, when centuries after his time, there was mendicancy performed as a religious penance or devotion. The apotheosis of austere poverty and the belief that nothing eradicates pride and anger from one's heart more than begging, have turned to temporary mendicants some of the proudest and holiest of men. The mendicants were required to observe 250 strict rules; they acquired a virtue who put off hunger, to oppose evil and the terror of evil ones.

There is a curious and insistent longing in the oriental mind to get loose of its material incumbrance. In fact the best of minds give an impression that they are not completely domiciled on the earth. In saying so, I have no intention to claim spiritual superiority for the East; for to all appearances man's love of comfort and his respect for wealth are universal. But the longing I speak of—or to put it more precisely, the detachment from the things of the earth—shows itself in many ways, as, for instance, when by some misfortune, natural or otherwise, one has been deprived of his possessions. Under such circumstances he feels the blow much less than a Westerner. Not at all infrequently does it happen that the sufferer acts as though relieved of a burden which had befallen him. Another way in which my statement is confirmed, is the liberal sharing, almost amounting to the com-

munistic partition, of one's property with friends and relatives. I find still further confirmation in the well-known fact that we dislike to exhibit our possessions in parlours and drawing-rooms. The emptiness of our rooms is usually attributed to the fear of earthquakes and fires and the moist atmosphere; but deeper down is the feeling that wealth is not for show. There is, moreover, an almost morbid pride in not being rich. Unfortunately for the wealthy, Confucius (like Christ in His story of the camel and the needle's eye) has forever stained the millionaire's reputation by his summary remark, that wealth does not make man benevolent, nor does benevolence make man wealthy.

The poor, instead of utilising their condition for the cultivation of benevolence, quote this passage to hint at their martyrdom and to cast a slur on the more favoured. Malice and spite are too often the lot of those who have not; but, where riches are not displayed or are not accounted as a great aim of life, the poor are not ashamed and they may even be proud of their scanty means. *Seihin*—literally “pure poverty”—is a term of praise of those who are proud in heart and poor in treasures.

III

Ethical ideas so unworldly or other-worldly as Buddhist teachings could not find much application during the “middle ages” of our history, since these, unlike the European, were characterised by military and not by ecclesiastical activity. In the

military age the hero is a superman and not a saint or a philosopher. The "slave morality" of a religionist would have succumbed entirely to the clash of arms, and have been clean wiped out, were it not that some of our best warriors had come under the spell of the Buddhist doctrine of Equality and Compassion. Add to this the æsthetic sense of our race, which abhors vandalism, and we get a result not very far removed from Christianity as practised in the West under similar social circumstances.

The Truce, so often considered a triumph of Christians, was not at all an uncommon practice in our middle ages. To take an undue advantage of the enemy (plenty of cases of *ruse de guerre*, notwithstanding) was not honourable or courageous. The sense of manliness forbade harsh treatment of fallen foes, never letting an "advanced sword in the air decline on the declined." Similarly, to vent one's hostility on inanimate objects—say of art—during warfare, was considered a mark of an evil temper and petty spite.

Professor Gilbert Murray gives among distinguishing traits of the ancient Athenians, insistence on Aretê "in the sense of generosity and kindness." "A true Athenian," he adds, "must know how to give way." This was precisely a teaching of Bushido. What it insisted upon is strangely alike even in sound. "Awarê" in Japanese means sadness or compassion. Samurai was defined as a man who knows the sadness of things (*mono-no-aware*).

Several instances are recorded of according equal

burial to the fallen enemy and the troops slain on one's own side. Monuments were erected to both alike. Such instances were not confined to cases of war where the belligerents were all Japanese. During the invasion of Japan by the Mongols in the fourteenth century and in the war with Korea in the late sixteenth century, the enemy was often given the honour of public burial and captives were treated with due respect. Wars are at all times cruel, and cruelties have been committed on both sides in every age. At no time and in no war has love of enemy been the rule in Christendom or anywhere else. Hence even a single instance of showing mercy to one's foes as a public act in warfare, is too precious a historical document to be ignored. If I say that there have been several notable instances of this in our history, it is not to brag of our superiority. Far from it! Rather should I be ashamed that there are not more, more ashamed that there were hundreds of cases of cruelty to one of generous treatment of foes.

I have dwelt somewhat at length on ethics in war in order to show that the idea which underlies Red Cross work is not, thanks to the long training of Buddhist tenets, at all foreign to our national mind.

The narrow field of philanthropy was left largely to monastic institutions. Buddhism, however, like other religions, was subject to two ailments. It suffered on one hand from the very profundity of intellectual and spiritual probing into its doctrines, to the neglect of the more practical needs of suffering humanity. It suffered on the other hand from

its growth into an institution, a worldly organisation interested in worldly goods and worldly prestige—in one word, from sacerdotalism. Scholarly minds became introvert and retired from or soared above the world; the active turned extrovert and dabbled in politics: between them lay a vast uncared-for region where spiritual thirst and physical hunger longed for satisfaction. Neither contemplation nor sacerdotalism lifted a finger to cope with the question of relief.

IV

With the retirement, sometime in the tenth century, of Buddhist ecclesiastics from the field of social activity, their place was taken by Confucian scholars, who should now have carried on the good work so nobly begun. The sentimental age, when the priesthood had exercised greatest influence, now gave way to an age of force and heroes, for whom Confucian ethics supplied the rule of life and norms of Government. The four hundred and thirty years which elapsed between 1186 and 1615 are full of romantic interest of hustle and bustle among warring chieftains; notwithstanding they afford some profitable data for our theme. It must be admitted that the politico-ethical teaching of Confucius, practical as it was in many ways, took little cognizance of humanitarian work. In a broad sense politics itself was in his eyes a moral duty. Early in the seventh century, Prince Regent Shotoku, an ardent convert to Buddhism as we

have seen, identified his faith with the teachings of Shintoism and Confucianism. He likened these to different but integral parts of the human body.

The highest virtues of a monarch are benevolence and justice, and his function is to execute the dictates of ethical law. The ethical law applies to the rich and the poor alike, and it makes no distinction between the fortunate and the unfortunate. The poor must receive assistance not because they suffer, but because they may prove a source of danger to the state if left uncared for. Charity becomes a policy. Pity and sympathy are natural instincts of a healthy mind, but unless they are guarded and controlled by reason and by a sense of propriety they may err and defeat their own purpose. How like Spinoza all this sounds: "Do not do to others what you would that others do not unto you," has been adopted as an axiom. Because of its negative wording, this saying has been often held up as a lesser form of the so-called Golden Rule. Is it really less? The comparison between the positive and the negative formulae, attractive as it is, should not detain us now.¹ As far as humanitarian work is concerned the Confucian precepts do not carry one very far. His own character, cold and puritanically upright, does not impress one as always human or humane. His teaching lacks the heart and tears that prompt men to acts of love.

His great apostle, Mencius, put more passion into the icy proprieties and righteousness of his

¹ A very able and clear comparison is made by Achad Ha-am in his *Essays on Zionism and Judaism*, pp. 345 ff.

master. Reducing all moral actions into four primal instincts, namely, compassion, shame, modesty, and conscience, he sees in the first the motive force for the best form of social order and government. What I have translated is in the original "the feeling that one cannot bear" to see another suffer. Legge translates it "commiseration." It is nothing but sympathy, sharing pain, *Mitleid*. In one place, Mencius speaks of "the commiserating" government as the highest type of government. Elsewhere he alludes to a "Chief of the Western Kingdom" who "nourished the aged," as a model monarch. It is a thousand pities that so great a protagonist of democracy did not develop his humanitarian ideas further. But it is not difficult to read between his lines that his ideal of a commonwealth is one governed by a sovereign elected by the people, with full powers to execute social and socialistic laws.

This idea is well illustrated in the story he relates of the chief minister of a certain state who conveyed pedestrians across a river, in his own carriage. Mencius remarks: "It was kind but showed that he did not understand the practice of government." He further remarks that a good governor conducts his rule on the principle of equal justice, and does not condescend to individual kindness and small favours. He ought to have a bridge built or a ferry provided. To look upon all men alike is his great maxim for justice. The ideal of his socialistic state is, first of all, that there should be none that needs help from outside his family. If a family cannot take care of an indigent, his

immediate neighbours, the local group, should. Only in extreme cases shall the state come to the rescue. Such a doctrine—at least as followed in Japan—did not encourage the growth of voluntary organisations for humanitarian purposes.

In the meantime, vagabondage and mendicancy roamed over the country. Insanity and incurable diseases, leprosy in particular, stalked about uncared for. Orphans became beggars, beggars thieves. Infanticide was connived at. Unfortunate victims of accidents were looked upon as sinners deserving punishment. Fatalism brooded over the land and then all the pessimistic elements in Buddhist philosophy were brought to justify this state of things. The darkness is broken here and there by gleams of beautiful charity bestowed by private individuals.

When rivalry among the feudal counts and barons was the order of the day, it is refreshing to meet with some—not very few either—of them striking a higher note of humanitarianism. The samurai was particularly enjoined to be tender in spirit. Shakespeare makes Edmund say: “To be tender-minded does not become a sword”; but from the way this rascal handled it, we know that he knew nothing of its right employment. The sword was best plied for the protection of the weak and the relief of the suffering.

It was during the militant age that the idea of paying respect to the fallen foe came to predominance. Chivalry required, as in Europe, of its votaries that they should not stain their sword with the blood of unworthy enemies. Your opponents

being your equals, due respect was due to them for their valour. Such a sentiment can well come into play between armies which belonged to the same race and who perhaps were friends until the outbreak of hostilities. But the sentiment extended to foreigners, as was shown after the Mongolian invasion of the thirteenth century, also after the war with Korea in the sixteenth century.

When in 1887 the "Philanthropic Society" (founded in 1877) assumed the name of Japanese Red Cross Society and applied to join the International Union, one of the test questions asked was whether there was in the national tradition or history any teaching inculcating kindness to an enemy. The answer was obvious. When ten years later, Monsieur Moynier, then president of the International Committee, was told that the Japanese Red Cross Society had 450,000 members, he wondered how it was possible to obtain such a result without any religious influence. But the answer must be obvious.

Another humanitarian enterprise, started during the troublous times of constant warfare, was the asylum, provided by religious institutions. At the gate of monasteries, one could see a placard posted high, "Intendants forbidden to enter," meaning that not even "intendants" could pursue within the enclosures those who took refuge there. There is still standing in Kamakura a nunnery built in the thirteenth century. It had a special privilege bestowed upon it to shelter unhappy women. Whoever stepped into the precincts of the Tokeiji could

not be molested even by her own father or husband.

At an age when one's life was in constant danger, it was only natural that one's thought was directed to the life beyond, and hence we have in Bushido, the ethics of samurai, a curious blending of worldliness and other-worldly-mindedness. It was largely through the influence of the Zen teaching that chivalry deprived the profession of the two-sworded order of its cruelty and made even of suicide itself a fine art.

With only a few exceptions, the typical samurai were men from whose thoughts the sufferings and sorrows of life were never absent. Their practical policies were not infrequently dictated by considerations of charity. To give one example, I may cite the case of a well-known character of the middle of the seventeenth century, Prince Shintaro of Bizen. In one of his instructions he says:

“The thrift of a superior man is to feel no want and has for its object charity. Thrift is not a work of the lips. To economise is to suffer, and to suffer is to improve the spirit. The superior man owns wealth for the people's sake and not for his own. Food, raiment and tools are to serve the purposes of mankind. That which a man should possess as his own and none other's is Love and Justice. . . If you gain wealth or power, it should be solely to benefit others. Thrift is thus based on contentment and should strive for charity. If you deny yourself of the good things that please the world, you will have more than you want, and if you devote this surplus to that which the world does

not care for, you will exercise charity, relieving the poor and the suffering.”

Such in brief were the ruling idea and the actual working of humanitarianism in Japan during the long period of feudalism, which lasted until the seventies of the last century.

With the contact with the West, new theories of life and new forces of society came into the country. The experiences of relief work in Europe, the gigantic charitable activities of America, the doctrines of Christianity and economic science, have awakened anew the old fire of Compassion, which had been allowed to smoulder in the hand of the indolent administrators and indifferent clergy.

The conscience of the public has been stirred by new conditions created by the passing of the old order :

(1) The general tendency for families to break up, due to the abolition of the feudal system and to the improvement of the means of communication, necessitating new modes of relief.

(2) The constant growth of an individualistic view of life and of the egoistic interpretation of the doctrine of equality, justifying the neglect of the aged and the infirm.

(3) The example of Christian missionaries, notably of the Salvation Army, stimulating Buddhist followers to initiate works of charity, or rather to revive their traditions of centuries ago.

(4) The personal interest shown by the Imperial family, particularly by the Empress, in all fields of philanthropic enterprise, giving new impetus to public charity.

(5) The widespread popularity of the Red Cross Society and its educational activity in sanitary and moral respects, stimulating the general interest in the work of relief.

(6) The absence of sufficient labour legislation and labour organisations in Japan, and of forms of assistance rendered by trades-unions or by governments calling forth special philanthropic efforts.

All these are new developments in the social evolution of modern Japan, which one who runs may read. Voluntary societies without number have been formed to cope with the need. The Red Cross Society, which is by far the largest humanitarian organisation, has now enrolled as members 2,500,000 of all classes of society. It supports 21 ordinary hospitals and 11 charity hospitals, 18 permanent relief homes, 11 circulating medical corps, 9 sanatoria for consumptives, 4 maternity hospitals and 6 free maternity homes. The Saisei Kwai, the Yofuku-kwai, the Dojun Keisei Sha, Keifuku-Kwai are corporatives interested in the relief of the aged and the crippled and the indigent. The Parliament regularly votes an annual budget for succour: the Imperial family spends millions every year on relief work: religious and educational organisations train social workers: local authorities render no small assistance to the poor by the provisions of the Calamity Relief Fund.

The Government has also set on foot various agencies, such as the employment exchanges, public lodging-houses, public pawn-shops. In a land subject to frequent natural catastrophes—earthquakes, conflagrations, hurricanes, inundations—the need

for rescue work is indeed too often indispensable. With her limited natural resources, the material part of the work is bound to be scanty. Can then the immaterial part—the worker and his or her efficiency in mental and moral equipment—compensate for the meagreness of the material? In organisation and administration, some of our humanitarian institutions have reached a high degree of perfection. All the activities of altruistic nature are centred in the special department of the Government, where they are studied and improved.¹ It remains still to be seen that the army of trained men and women called upon to carry on the laudable work do not lack the one thing needful—that “secret sympathy, the silver link, the silken tie” which binds all mankind in the bond of Equality, the end of true democracy.

¹ Compare an interesting “Review of Social Work in Japan,” Moriya.

AN ORIENTAL CHRISTIAN'S VIEW OF THE RACE PROBLEM

“ And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

“ But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it.

“ For all people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever.”—*Micah*.

I

One of the greatest attractions of this city of Geneva is the superb view it commands of Mont Blanc.¹ It is a privilege to feast one's eyes on its majestic form, which has been an endless source of inspiration to poets and artists. And yet, viewed from a narrower and more practical point, does not this mountain, located as it is at the frontier of three great countries—does it not present no small obstacle to the commerce and communication between them?

¹ This chapter is based on a lecture originally delivered in the University of Geneva, but later revised and enlarged.

All collective entity—be it a massif, a nation, a race—is exalting in its mental and sentimental effect, ennobling, and even exhilarating when we conceive of it as something intimately related to us. Clutton Brock once taught us in his inimitable way that patriotism is “pooled self-esteem,” that it is largely conceit of individuals transferred to a larger impersonal organism of which they are members. Certainly patriotism or race pride—like the mere accident of being born in a good family—is a comforting sensation, and is made the utmost of by those who are least entitled to respect because of personal merit or exertion. The lowest form, hard instinct, has elevated it among the loftiest of virtues.

Surely the stunted scrub-fir clinging to the frosty side of Mont Blanc will look down with haughty scorn on its gigantic brother cedar luxuriating on the slopes of its namesake—Mount Lebanon—simply because it is a born citizen of a Great Power whereas they are only natives of a mandated territory.

There is a Pharisee in all of us. We are ever thankful that we are in some mysterious way better than other men. And all our relatives, especially when we have among them anthropologists and historians, encourage us in this comfortable notion of superiority.

National traits are usually thrown upon the world's screen accentuated and in glowing colours. All that is best and noblest in the history and art of a nation is arranged in support of the claim of its superiority. National traits thus depicted are a

sublimation and a projection of their protagonists. We esteem ourselves by the heights to which we attain. We rate others by the depths to which they fall. It is this self-esteem which keeps up one's self-respect and is highly to be commended as long as it respects the self-respect of other peoples. But the instant this feeling is fostered at the expense of other nations, it becomes a snare to the people themselves and a menace to the rest of the world.

Race consciousness has nearly always been misdirected into race prejudice and animosity making of the beautiful picture of sublimated national traits a real barrier for mutual understanding. Under the name of Race Problem, it has recently been jutting into the various domains of human thought and of practical politics in a way productive of suspicion and ill-will among nations. The so-called Colour Problem in America, the Minority questions in Europe, the White Australia platform in Australia, the Alien Bar in South Africa, and anti-foreign demonstrations in Asia, are all phases of race antipathy.

The problem has of late attained a gigantic size and threatens to grow in dimensions as it receives accretions from various sources—political rivalry for power among the nations, economic competition, whether of labour or capital or for markets, and the knowledge of the diverse traits of different races. Some religions take part in complicating the problem by identifying themselves with one race or another.

My task is, however, a much simpler one—I have to treat the Race Problem from the view point of

Christianity, and viewed from this eminence there is, and there ought to be, no problem of Race.

I shall make no attempt to define Christianity. I take it as settled once for all that the fundamental tenet of this religion, the alpha and omega of Christ's teaching, is the Fatherhood of God. The rest of Christian doctrine is but its corollaries. The brotherhood and equality of the human race is but one of these.

II

It is our purpose now to study how far this doctrine of universalism is taught in Christianity, —who taught it and where and how it is taught.

In opening the Bible, the first thing that strikes us is the story of the Creation, in which the first man appears as the forbear of all mankind without distinction of race. Not insignificant is a legend current among the Arabian Mohammedans, that the dust from which Adam (Red) was formed, was gathered by the Angel of Death, Azrael, from the four quarters of the globe and was of different colours.¹

Chapter 5 of the Book of Genesis reads like an independent book, beginning with the genealogy of Adam and giving the family tree of the Hebrew race. Is it possible—with all respect for St. Augustin's explanation¹ — that the preceding chapters—the first above all—were really additions made after the Jewish writers came in closer con-

¹ See also *Tractate Sanhedrin*, ch. lxxxix. in the *Talmud*.

¹ *The City of God*, Bk. XV., ch. xxi.

tact with other nations, written perhaps after the exile? If so, rather than giving an impression that God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, it is natural that later (priestly) writers should stress the statement that the Hebrew people were the only sons of God, a special creation of His Hand. Adam's seed, however, nearly all perished in the Flood, only a handful, consisting of Noah's family, being saved. The Deluge seems not to have drowned other races: or else who were the daughters of men in contrast to the sons of God? Augustin's identification of the former with the blood of Cain, and of the latter with that of Seth seems rather far fetched. God continues to be partial to Noah, and races other than his own were treated with ungenerous discrimination. Indeed, even among his own progeny, equal treatment was not vouchsafed. He had seventy (some say seventy-two) grandsons grouped under their fathers, Shem, Ham and Japheth. They had each become an ancestor of a nation, which was protected by a special angel: but Israel alone enjoyed the direct governance of Jehovah. Thus according to the Christian Scriptures, at the very outset of man's history, there was a decided particularism, which as time went on became more and more pronounced.

The Israelites, firm in the conviction that they were a chosen people, made of a Universal God a tribal deity, Jahveh, as jealous of their welfare as Chemoch was of the Moabite and Baal of the Phoenician. It is only logical that the race so particularly favoured should look with disdain upon other peoples whom they designated *goi, nokri,*

and, later, Gentiles. This is not at all to be wondered at, when we know that other races, with less religious pretensions and smaller natural gifts, have done not a whit better.

The Rabbinical literature is full of the declarations of Jewish excellence and superiority to the rest of mankind. It is stated in the Talmud—"Ten measures of wisdom came into the world; the law of Israel received nine measures, and the rest of the world one." And the writer goes on to state that of poverty Babylon received nine out of ten measures; of haughtiness, the Elamites received nine; of vermin, the Medes; of witchcraft, the Egyptians; of boils, the swine; of unchastity, Arabia; of loquacity, women; of sleep, slaves (Kiddushin, fol. 49, col. 2).

One zealous teacher, R. Elizier, denies salvation to the Gentiles however good they may be. Says he—"Love and benevolence exalt a nation (i.e. Israel) but Gentile benevolence is sinful as it is for self-glorification." Eleazar of Modi'im, goes further in his animadversion on the virtue as practised by other peoples. "Gentiles practise benevolence," he says, "only to taunt Israel." In the judgment of Simon ben Yohai, "The best of Gentiles deserve to be killed." In an apochryphal book, probably written by Esra (2 Esdras, vi. 55) occurs this prayer: "O Lord, thou hast said that for our sakes thou madest this world. As for the other nations, which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing and are like unto spittle—and thou hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel."

Such a question could be pursued with no serious harm if it had remained only a matter of debate in the synagogue, as indeed it was continued in the Christian Church, where the balancing of souls was believed to be the special job of the Angel Donkiel. But racial prejudice did not always remain a mere intellectual pastime among the Israelites. It found its way into their legislation and affected the alien holding of landed property, the employment of foreign labour, etc.

It would be unfair to the rabbis, however, to pick out their one-sided utterances only, and fling into their teeth the condemnation of bigoted nationalism. One can well imagine the difficulty of generalization, when he finds in one part of the Talmud that Meir exhorted his followers to thank every day for being born (1) a Jew and not a *Goi*, (2) a man and not a woman, (3) an intelligent and not an ignorant person (Menachoth, ch. xix.) and then finds the identical rabbi teaching in another part of the same book, that the Gentile, who observes the law is on the same level with the High Priest. (*Aboda sara*, ch. iii.)

I am not unmindful of a quite different strain of thought running through the Rabbinical doctrines, opposed to particularism; but it cannot be denied that, in the main, racial discrimination was a crucial principle of Hebrew polity. Certainly I am not blackening the night by calling it dark, despite all its stars; and then each of these stars may be larger than our sun! Indeed, if one were to judge Hebrew exclusiveness by the motive which actuated it, namely the preservation of nationality in the

midst of adverse circumstances, we shall do the Jewish leaders more justice than by ascribing their polity to a mere hatred of foreigners.¹ Let us remember the complaint of the Romans: *Juven-
tutem studiis externis degenerare.*

III

Born in Galilee, the hot-bed of Zealots, nurtured in the spirit and the letter of the nationalism of His people, did Christ transcend them all—or did He include these in “the laws and the prophets” which He said He came to fulfil?

There are some utterances of His which indicate that He was not entirely free from the rigid traditions of His people in this respect.

The first instance that may come to everybody’s mind is that of His speech to a Syrophenician woman: “I was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Matt. xv. 24).² Was His mission, then, confined to His own race to the exclusion of others? Or did He say this only to test the woman’s faith? His subsequent action certainly indicated greater breadth of vision than His words. Did Christ look down upon the Greeks as upon dogs, after the manner of His compatriots, and feed the poor woman with the crumbs that fell from His table? Previous to this occasion, He had enjoined His disciples when they were sent forth to

¹ Strachey, Sir Edward, *Jewish History and Politics*, pp. 47, 53.

² Mark puts the narrative in a slightly different way (vii. 27). Luke omits it entirely.

spread the Gospel, not to go into the way of the Gentiles or into any Samaritan city (Matt. x. 5). Was this step solely a prudential measure or was it based on race discrimination? His *amour propre* is still more evident in the next instance I wish to cite.

When He was asked for the greatest of all commandments, He replied: "The first of all commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is Lord!"¹ (Mark xii. 29). Why Israel and Israel's God if He were preaching a universal faith? It is not impossible that as this reply was directed to a scribe, He used the words familiar to His hearer (Deut. x. 15), so bringing a new light to the old teaching of His fathers. It is equally possible, and indeed probable, that, though He used the same terms "God" and "Lord," He used them in a larger sense than was generally in vogue.

Christ's predilection for the Hebrews comes more clearly into relief when we hear His answer to His disciples on the occasion of their inquiry regarding their future reward. He assured them that "in the regeneration they shall sit upon the twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 28, Luke xxii, 30). Still more patriotic is His picture of the future state, though here He also hints at the salvation of the Gentiles. When the centurion, who was probably a Roman, besought Christ to heal his servant, who may have been of any one of the many races living in Judea at that time, Christ lauded the centurion's faith as something He did

¹ Neither Matthew (xxii. 35) nor Luke (x. 25) gives these words, "Hear, O Israel!"

not find in Israel. He spoke loudly enough to be heard by the Jews and plainly enough to admonish them. Yet from His speech, one can infer that His notion of Paradise was that it was primarily the abode of the patriarchs of His race. "Many shall come from the East and from the West and shall sit at meat with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of God" (Matt viii. 11).

It is far from me to attempt any learned exegesis of the texts I have quoted. I am only speaking as a layman, to show what kind of impression the words of Christ give to a plain, ordinary Far Eastern man, unversed in Biblical lore or higher criticism. In the last instance I have quoted, He was addressing a group of plain ordinary men of the Jewish race. I fancy that He condescended to their mental level and spoke as it were in a metaphor. While the individual names He gave must have rendered the Kingdom very vivid and realistic to His simple hearers—was He not using them merely for purposes of a synecdoche or metonymy? Ought we not in an English translation to put a singular article before these patriarchal names?

We must admit, however, in defence of Christ's method, that for obvious reasons of a common language and of traditions, His mission had to begin with His own people.

Finally, shall we attach a nationalistic significance to the plain injunction of Christ that we should love our neighbour? Some see in the word "neighbour" a strong national bias, as it cannot refer to people separated by a racial barrier. This

question need not detain us longer, as the peculiar sense in which this word was used, was illustrated by Christ Himself in the parable of the good Samaritan.

I have thus far dealt only with one side of the teachings of Christ—the side that savours of narrow particularism—that side of his mentality which called forth the famous sentence from the pen of Wellhausen—“Jesus was not a Christian: he was a Jew.” Such a verdict should not blind us to the weightier side of His teaching—the side that marks an epoch in the conception of human brotherhood.

IV

Instances are recorded in the Gospels, which prove by implication that Christ was motivated by universalism of spirit. Else how could He have spoken to His own countrymen of the despised cities of Sodom, Sidon and Tyre in terms more creditable than of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum! (Luke x., 13-15). We have already cited the case of the Centurion as a possible indication of Christ's nationalistic proclivity; but the text I quoted was not complete. After giving the names of the patriarchs as tenants of Paradise, He says: “The sons of the Kingdom (namely the Jews) shall be cast forth into the outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.” His compatriots, suffering from oppression psychosis,

to borrow Prof. Miller's admirable term, did not take it either as a joke or a complaint!¹

If Christ was not always explicit or precise, there are utterances of His scattered here and there through the Gospels that are unmistakably catholic in spirit. Take for instance the Lord's Prayer, the many parables, the Beatitudes—these alone are sufficient proof of the universality of His teaching. They have no regard of persons or of races. They carry with them an internal evidence that they proceeded from One who could say to the Jews "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham" (Matt. iii. 9)—terrible challenge to their pride of race. We can go on culling text after text from the Synoptic Gospels, that would substantiate the universal character of the mind of Jesus.

All these texts will receive a flood of new light from the philosophic exposition of the mind of Christ, as given in the Fourth Gospel. Its idealism, beginning with the Logos doctrine, supraspatial and super-temporal, leaves but little room for doubt as to the catholicity of Christ's mission. Take the

¹ After writing the above, I have come across Mr. John S. Hoyland's book "The Race Problem and the Teaching of Jesus Christ." *Apropos* of this particular instance, the author speaks so eloquently that I cannot resist quoting his words: "If this saying (i.e., Matt. viii. 11-12) stood alone, it would form a sovereign proof of the fact that Jesus Christ, a Galilean peasant, member of the most bigoted portion of the most bigoted population that the world has ever seen, rose in a manner nothing short of supernatural above His people, and enunciated the principles of ■ spiritual cosmopolitanism which, coming from Galilee, can be regarded only as miraculous" (pp. 118-9).

doctrine of God loving the world, or allusion of "other sheep, not of this fold."

John's accusation of the Jewish nation as "darkness," as rejecting the Logos (I., 11) leads one to the hypothesis of his anti-Judaism. His conception of salvation through the blood of the Lamb is world-wide, inclusive of the people of the Covenant. See how often occurs the term "world" in his writings! A recent writer (Nolloth, *The Fourth Evangelist*) thinks that the probable effect of Pauline influence on St. John lay in the help it gave the Evangelist to recognise and bring out of the storehouse of his memory those incidents and sayings of his Master which were most necessary to meet the exigencies of the growing Church.

The book of the Revelation, whoever its author may have been, is a strange mixture of particularism and universalism, Jewish exclusivism and broad cosmopolitan ideas (xi. 18, xiv. 6, xv. 4, xi. 2, vii. 4-8, etc.). The seer so clothes his Christian thought in Judaist words that it is almost impossible for us, and probably also for the expositors, to explain the real import of the Apocalypse.

Indeed, some sayings of Christ as given in the Fourth Gospel strike one as so radically in opposition to those of the rabbis that they at once raise the question in our mind whether Christ was not too revolutionary in His ideas and cut Himself off entirely with the past of His people and the teaching of the Synagogue. At the same time, it is not difficult to see that He was a son of His race and period. Parallel with their bigoted exclusivism,

there has always, as we have seen, run a strain of Catholicism among the Hebrews.

In the period preceding the advent of Christ, there seem to have appeared among the Jews individuals gifted with a vision untrammelled by racial pride. So little is known of the Essenes that it is too daring for me to speak of them. Whether they were the most rigid of the Pharisees, as some advocate, or the followers of an alien faith possibly Pythagorean, Zoroastrian or Buddhist, they seem so emancipated from racial consciousness as to have entertained a broad conception of universal brotherhood. Was it not a bold thing for Rabbi Eliazar to say: "Who gives charity in secret is greater than Moses"? Among the leaders of Jewish thought, if there was a Shammai with his narrow Chauvinism, there was also a Hillel with all the personal qualifications and teachings that can well entitle him to be a harbinger of Christianity.

Mr. Robertson¹ gives ample evidences, that few teachings of Christ were original. For that matter all His doctrines and precepts may be borrowed. A house can be original, though all its stones may be quarried from his neighbour's mine and all its timbers cut from another man's forest. My contention is that there was lurking among His contemporaries an idea of universalism.

That there should be these two irreconcilable currents running through the whole body of Jewish thought, far from being impossible, is quite probable. Future historians, who study the Immigration Laws of the United States, will be

¹ John M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*.

perplexed with similar discrepancies, according as they select their data from the popular press or among Senate archives. It seems more than likely, as Mr. Laurence E. Browne suggests, that the arrogant exclusivism represented "the official attitude" of priests as opposed to the universalistic ideals of thinkers. As there is a Pharisee in each of us, so there is a Sadducee in every governing class!

Thus, even if we admit that Christ was a product of His age, it is easy to see that He should have entertained a universalistic sentiment on the question of race. Not all His sayings on this subject or on any other are recorded. It is not at all impossible He taught His disciples by word of mouth, by His manner, by the look in His eyes—things that have not reached us. "A tree is known by its fruits." We can get a glimpse of Christ's mind by its effect on His disciples. If the Acts of the Apostles had contained no more than the three narratives of the Pentecost (ch. ii.), Peter's vision of clean and unclean food (ch. x.) and Paul's sermon on Mars Hill in Athens (xvii. 22-34), this document would have been a powerful check to a nationalistic limitation of Christ's mission.

We should hardly expect His locally recruited followers, Hebrews of little education, to entertain a much broader vision than that of their own surroundings, or else how can we explain why for seventeen years after the Crucifixion (Gal. i. 18, ii. 1) even "they who were respected to be pillars" confined their activity to "the gospel of the cir-

cumcision," to the "neglect of the uncircumcision" ? The instance related in the Acts, of the partiality shown for the Hebrews, to the prejudice of the widows of the Grecian Jews in the daily ministrations, proves that already in those early days of the Church, so soon after the Pentecostal day, there was racial discrimination. The complaint was met with in a very fair spirit by the appointment of seven deacons, all of whom, judging from their names, seem to have been Hellenist Jews. Thanks to their bitter experience, the Jews of the Diaspora were broadened in their mental outlook, and it is due perhaps to this fact that Stephen, the first martyr, and Philip, the Evangelist, turned pioneers of missionary work among the Gentiles. The accusation that "this man (Stephen) ceaseth not from speaking words against the holy place and the law" witnesses to his immunity from the nationalistic preoccupation of his people. The persecution which arose about him had the effect of scattering the Christians throughout Judea and Samaria (Acts viii. 1), some seeking refuge even as far as Phenice, Cyprus and Antioch (Acts xi. 19). In these new places the Christians, far from back-sliding, seem to have maintained their faith and were even aggressive in "preaching the word" (Acts vii. 4). They only looked forward to the speedy conversion of all Israel, to the Parousia, and to the subjection of the whole world to the power of the Cross.

Among Stephen's fellow workers stands Philip as a picturesque figure, full of zeal and of daring. We can imagine him bent in earnest converse, now

with Samaritans, hated by his compatriots, then with a despised negro, and that an eunuch, and then again with a Roman, and that a Centurion, stationed to oppress their brethren as the Hebrews justly thought.

It is expressly stated in the Acts (xi. 19), that after the dispersion attending the murder of Stephen, the disciples preached "the word to none but unto the Jews only"; but this particularist predilection did not last long."

The way opened by Stephen and Philip was soon widened by Paul, who, combining in his person a Hebrew of Hebrews in blood and temperament, a Roman in citizenship and juridical turn of mind, a Greek trained in the intellectual milieu of Hellenistic Tarsus, was the most suitable agent for the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands. How often he reiterates in his epistles that in Jesus Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek! His Judaizing colleagues regarded him at first with suspicion; but he did not have to wait long for their blessings upon the great enterprise on which he embarked with Barnabas.

Peter's Judaism and his influence in the Church of Jerusalem on the one part, and Paul's cosmopolitanism and his conversion on the way to Damascus on the other, led to the famous conference of Antioch; and the scene described in the fifteenth chapter of the Book of the Acts gives us a vivid picture of the conflict of ideas along racial lines. We are not told how the controversy ended exactly, but it seems from what followed that there was a conciliation effected between two opposing

camps, and each contributed in the end to the strengthening of the Church. The expulsion of the Jews by Hadrian after Bar Cochba's rebellion, turned Jerusalem, according to Ritschl, into a Gentile colony and put an end to Jewish Christianity. This event may account partly at least for the loss of the influence of Peter's party. Schwegler, in his analysis of Catholicism, metes out equal award to the two great exponents of Early Church by saying:—"The element of Unity is Petrine, that of Universality Pauline."

When we perceive that in recommending women to be veiled, Paul showed a strong attachment to the custom of his native town, his vision of the universal reach of Christ's Kingdom is the more to be admired.

To him, circumcision and sabbath and meat and drink were adiaphoron. Whoever received Christ in spirit and in truth formed a new race. In fact, according to Tertullian, the early Christians were called a "third race" (*tertium genus*) by the hostile population around.

This division of the human race, not along racial cleavage, but along faith, was enunciated by Christ Himself in His saying that He came not to give peace but division (Luke xii. 51). The sifting of the unfaithful from the faithful, the separation of the black from the white sheep, the segregation of those who are in the world from those who are out of the world—this division is a familiar figure in the New Testament (John xiii. 1, xi. 52, xv. 19, etc.). Most vividly is this desire for the separation from the world and for the unity of His elect expressed in

the prayer "for them also who believe in Me through their word; that they may all be one; as Thou Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in us" (John xiv. 11, 20, 21). Thus did the Christian community form a new race begotten of God and therefore 'spiritually related and more radically contrasted with the rest of earthly denizens than were the Covenant people from the gois. Kautsky says that the passion which animated the Christians in their propaganda work was not race hatred but class hatred. It was this characteristic which separated the early and later Christians from the rest of the Jews, who in turn reacted by encouraging a strong national spirit.¹ Yet, we must not underestimate the tenacious hold of particularism upon the early Christians. The sects of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, while espousing Christian teaching, kept up many Jewish traditions.

The Pauline doctrines, notwithstanding the Ebionite refutation, were embodied in the doctrines of the early Church and contributed to make it a world-wide institution, whose sway was to extend over the entire globe.

Paul with his keen legal mind could not fail to see in the all-embracing political organisations of the Roman Empire a suggestion for the ecclesiastical institution of a universal Church. Tertullian affirms that all churches were one great Church where all the members were on perfectly equal footing in the bond of peace, hospitality and brotherhood.

¹ *Foundations of Christianity*, p. 379.

V

The Fathers and scholastics of the Mediæval Age conceived the world as one harmonious whole, pervaded by the one spirit of God, forming a mystical body (*corpus mysticum*), the Commonwealth of the Human Race (*respublica generis humani*) and that all who dwelt therein were equal one to another. It may be said that the idea of equality came into the Church from the Stoic philosophy, particularly through Cicero and Seneca. Or it may be that Neo-Platonism introduced it. But the idea was not uncongenial or novel to the Church: in fact, it was inherent in Christ's teaching and could therefore be easily incorporated in her tenets.

Augustine's *City of God* is inconceivable on the premises of racial inequalities. In that wonderful drama of the Church militant, the Crusades, where we should naturally expect the actors to incite each other to race hatred, how little we hear of it! A recent French writer¹ says that the Mediæval Church acquired such a degree of homogeneity that she formed as it were a new and artificial race, namely Latinity. There were stupidities, sins, crimes galore committed by the Pilgrims and the Knights, but they were, though not entirely, astonishingly immune from the venomous racial hatred that characterizes some anti-semitic paper or a Californian journal of to-day. Why? The reason

¹ De Givry, *Le Christ et la Patrie*, 1924.

seems simple. Not only were the Greeks and Arabians superior in civilization to "the Latins" as Gibbon¹ calls the Western Europeans who formed the bulk of the Crusaders, but the Church held fast by the unity of mankind. The heathens and the Mussulmans were not regarded as vessels of destruction but as raw clay ready for the Christian mould. Hence during the dominance of the Church there was no race problem either in theoretical controversy or in practical polity. The motley character of a Roman population must have disarmed them of racial prejudice, and the financial needs of the State could ill afford to observe racial discrimination. In the third century, Caracalla bestowed Roman citizenship on all provincials in order to extract equal taxes. This legal recognition of equal civil status must have reacted in the Church.

If, according to an imaginary law of Constantine, the Cæsar's family was debarred from marrying a foreigner, this rather suggests that miscegenation was allowed for the general public, and, further, that it was a common practice or else what was the need of the inhibition? Whatever distinctions the Church made among men were drawn on a religious basis, hence in the intercourse of nations they were simply classified as Christian and non-Christian. With all its errors and intolerance, the Catholic Church came as near to being a perfect world organization as any human institution. It was practically the Holy *Human* Church that Mr. Edward Carpenter longs to have, rather than the

¹ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. lxi.

Holy *Roman* Church, unless we spell backwards the local name *Roma* and discern in the anagram, *Amor*, the central doctrine of Christ. Thus from the vantage-ground of Christianity there was no Race Problem. Such a problem betokens spiritual decay, as evidenced in the fact that the more materialistic a people, the stronger is race prejudice.

As the sway of the Church extended, there came under it Northern nations bred in individualism, who ultimately were instrumental in bringing about the disruption of the Church itself. This was the first step in the growth of particularism in religion and polity. The rise of the Race Problem in these modern times was only its sequel.

VI

First and foremost among the causes that brought the Race Problem to the forefront of modern thinking, is economic rivalry, be it a scramble for a market or a field for investment, be it competition in labour supply. It has even been reported that the antagonism of races is kept alive by manufacturers of arms and ammunitions!

But the economic interest of a nation never stands long isolated from political agitation. Political thinking is nowadays so tinged with economic colouring that a politician is easily led to defend the tradesman's position in the name of national honour. National distrust and hostility are thus justified and fostered by appealing to race prejudice.

Besides economic and political considerations, there is still another and very popular source from which the Race Problem is fed; this is the unwarranted generalizations of the science of Anthropology. So fascinating is the study of man and so broad are its aspects, that the most sciolistic and the curious can dabble with its findings. From Gobineau downward to Houston Steward Chamberlain and the pre-war German writers of the *Politisch-Anthropologische Revue*, and continued by the American "Stoddard-McDougal-Kuklux-klan" group (to borrow once again Professor Miller's nomenclature) we have not lacked amusement of the high-falutin encomium of the imaginary virtues of "superior races," nor at the hardly-deserved vices of the "inferior."

Mainly due to these causes—political, economic and pseudo-scientific—we have reared out of racial differences a stupendous barrier, a veritable Mont Blanc, in the world's highways of communications and communion. Will the mountain grow higher still or will its obstacles be conquered?

Assiduously is Science making a path over it, defying its crags and crevices. Anthropologists, by an entirely new classification of human races, will deal a blow at the present amateurish and sensational protagonists of race animosity. Pains-taking labour this, but by steady efforts, they will bring nearer the races across the barrier; they may one day even wipe it out altogether.

Politicians, too, as they are schooled in international problems, will put forth their exertions to bring about better relations among the nations, not

by making the shortest cut like the scientists, but by taking a roundabout route in the lower region where the slope is not steep—along the contour line of the League of Nations.

Economic students will not be long in discovering the almost forgotten dictum once set up by Carey the Baptist, that the apparently clashing interests of nations can be harmonized to mutual advantage. To secure this advantage, "economic man" cannot afford to take a winding road. He will bore a straight tunnel underneath.

Thus in various ways nobler spirits are working to surmount the obstacles imposed upon the world by the Race Problem. But none of them can excel in facility and efficiency the way that religion—and Christianity of all religions—has always prescribed. Aviation is its method, flying above all earthly obstacles, coursing from one region to another in quick succession, alighting on highest peaks scattered round the world and binding them in bonds of sympathy, equality and fellowship.

CAN THE EAST AND THE WEST EVER MEET?

“Education certainly gives victory, although victory sometimes produces forgetfulness of education; for many have grown insolent from victory in war, and this insolence has engendered in them innumerable evils; and many a victory has been and will be suicidal to the victors; but education is never suicidal.”—*Plato, “Laws.”*

I

I wish to plead for a fuller recognition of the global character of the moral world—with a single centre which gives it its shape and a single axis on which it revolves. It is too easy to forget the unity of mankind in the clamour of national ambition, and to widen the gap between East and West in the struggle for political domination; but in the higher region of spiritual forces and religious thoughts, of fine arts and scientific research, the cause of humanity and the need of mutual understanding between the opposite quarters of the compass may well find a sympathetic hearing.

A few decades ago, the world opened a new page to repeat over again on a larger scale the experience which Europe passed through some 600 years ago. When the Greek crossed the Alps, the

event marked an epoch in the progress of Europe; for the revival of Greek learning changed the whole thought of Europe in some of its fundamental points. If in the Renaissance, the Hebraistic mentality of the Church was leavened by the resuscitated Hellenism, we are again in the face of a movement in which the feminine passivity of the Oriental intellect is being fructified by the virility of the Occidental. What the Chinese call New Learning, is but European science and dialectics. India has her English universities and professors, and her revolutionary movements are tinged with Western colouring. In Japan only a few decades ago all higher education was conducted in English and German and some in French, and it still remains true that the chief qualification for University matriculation is the mastery of some European tongue.

The leavening effect of Western studies is most evident in the sudden rise of Japan, in the Chinese attempt at republican institutions, in the unrest in India. Western ideas naturally find a following in the East among the younger and more progressive spirits and these not seldom go beyond their teachers in the advocacy of the lessons they are taught. It was said that the Florentines and foreigners who flocked to their city in the age of the Medicis became more Greek than their Greek teachers. Why? Because the professors who lectured on Ancient Greece opened to their scholars only the best that was left of her intellect and art. The Spartan helots or the Athenian demos did not form their material of instruction. I very much

doubt if such an enthusiastic Revival of Learning could have been possible if the Florentine audience were in daily actual contact with the people whose portraits fill, soil and brighten the pages of Aristophanes' plays.

The ardent youth of the East is instructed in the best thought of the West, unsuspecting of the sordid realities of its everyday life. In their flight among the heights, they ignore the flat lowlands and the mean valleys between. Certainly the shortest way is from peak to peak, and youth has long legs to traverse spaces in the air. It belongs to the happy traits of youth that in its naïve acceptance of things distant, it disregards its immediate surroundings and exalts the object of its visions far beyond its realities. I own that it is for this very characteristic that we love the young, and it is this that we utilise, as I shall show later, in educating the East about the West. To one bent on learning from another, it avails little to look at things too closely. It is not for youth alone that distance lends enchantment. The grown-ups in the East and in the West, and indeed the noblest among them, have always at their moments of exaltation entertained the belief that light and truth have their abode in that quarter of the compass which is opposite to their own habitation. The Buddhists have imagined Heaven as lying in the West—the West whither the sun hastes every day for its rest. The three Wise Men of the East saw the Star in the West. On the contrary, the early Christians in their baptism turned to the East, whence dawns the light of day. Christianity in its westward march kept its face

turned eastward. In this reciprocal admiration between East and West lies a fecund principle for mutual understandings, and on this rock of "imaginative sympathy" should be built the Church universal. Neither hemisphere can henceforth live a separate life.

II

One of the most interesting and serious questions that confront the world to-day is—Whither are we bound? Or, to put it in another word—What is to be the next form of civilisation? One may not share Herr Spengler's view of the *Untergang des Westens*, or Monsieur Maurice Muret's of the *Twilight of the White Races*; for it is not necessary for the West to decay in order to usher in a new phase in man's evolution. The cultural development of the race may be likened with equal, if not with nearer, approximation to truth, to the shooting of new branches or the bursting of new flowers, rather than to the germination of a fresh plant from a rotting seed. It is not always of dead selves that we make stepping stones. The living selves can ascend higher reaches if they will.

What impedes us from rising to loftier visions and nobler efforts is the "Present"—not the Present with its sufficing duties and happiness, as Carlyle used to say, but the Present with its "urgent questions of the day," its petty jealousies and mean endeavours. For centuries, man's aspirations have remained very much the same, and

the way to reach them has been amply pointed out by seers of all successive ages. Only, the "Present" has from generation to generation blinded his sight and diverted his steps from the path shown.

It is not merely *amour propre* on my part to say that until the West and the East come to know each other better and join forces for a common end, Mankind will not enter the new Kingdom. The old legend of Plato, told in Symposium, that Man was originally created globular and that he was parted in twain, applies with peculiar force to his mentality, and until his bi-partite ways of thought and of outlook on the world are united or harmonised and rendered intelligible one to the other, there will continue mutual suspicion, offishness and even insolence and hatred.

Says Plato: "Human nature was originally one and we were a whole, and the desire and pursuit of the whole is called love. There was a time, I say, when we were one, but now because of the wickedness of mankind God has dispersed us, and the Arcadians were dispersed into villages by the Lacedaimonians. And if we are not obedient to the gods, there is a danger that we shall be split up again and go about in basso-relievo, like the profile figures having only half a nose which are sculptured on monuments, and that we shall be like tallies." We may indeed ask the question: If man in his globular state offended the gods by daring to scale heaven, what guarantee have we of perfect bliss by regaining what we have lost? Shall we not err and be punished again?

Was there a question like this troubling Comte in the back of his head, when he proposed the union of all animate beings into a Biocratic League to wage war on the inanimate nature? Another fight with living gods or with dead matter is yet too distant a possibility. Moreover the question at its worst is which to choose—falling from the globular to the present state again or to be split up in the present state and to hop about on a single leg, with half a nose and but one eye!

III

It is too easy for a Western mind to pretend utter ignorance as to the mental habits of the Eastern people, and vice versa. Even so universal a genius as Herr Spengler juxtaposes "the rhythmic dynamic of our (Western) life" to "the accentless Tao of the Chinese soul" as mutually incomprehensible. Both start with the assumption and cling to it with obstinate credulity that the one can never understand the other. We may attribute this to sheer laziness. Listen to what one hears said every day in Europe about the enigmatic warfare going on in China. To a European with a rudimentary knowledge of Ancient History, it must look quite natural that, after the fall of Julius Cæsar, there should have been three or four generals fighting with each other; or that the earlier Empire of Alexander or the later dominion of Constantine should have passed through similar perturbations. Certainly the political outlook of the modern

European has not so far outgrown that of the Ancients as to make the action of a Ptolemy, a Seleucus, an Antigonus, or later of a Constantius, a Constans, a Magnentius, a Gallus so very strange!

Let us take a long view of the Chinese situation. There is China, a huge homogeneous mass of some 400,000,000 souls, intensely democratic in their ways, individualistic in their ideas, with a civilisation extending back to the age when Europe was a wilderness. This people had in the course of their history tried many experiments in politics and sociology. Revolutions and counter-revolutions had in times past swept over the land, changing even social customs and moral ideas. Some of their leading philosophers expounded views more subversive of social order than the Bolshevik. Now they are engaged in an experiment of republican government. I do not believe it is an experiment entirely new to them. Only it will take a long time to set it a-going, remembering that a pendulum swings more slowly in the East. Let us allow to Cathay a decade for every two years spent by France to establish herself after 1871. It requires time not only to learn new things but to unlearn old, and China has a long past. The numerous Tuchuns and their lieutenants have more heads to cut than the army of Versailles had on that "terrible day," as Victor Hugo calls the 21st of May, 1871. How much longer would the Paris Commune have lasted, were it not for the pressure of the German Army in the neighbourhood? China practically has nothing to fear from foreign inter-

vention at present, and she can afford to spin out her fratricidal squabble for many years.

For reasons I have elsewhere noted, the Orient does not easily furnish strong men, which a revolution in the West so frequently brings to the fore. Indeed, we associate with revolutions such names as Cromwell, Napoleon, Garibaldi, Kossuth, Lenin—not to mention ancient and mediæval names. Some ten years ago one's ears were dinned particularly in America with the Promises of the Chinese Revolution. Chinese students glamoured the eyes of the American public with the fore-shadows of a Washington soon to appear to guide the young Republic. As yet, not even an imitation article of a Jefferson or an Adams, has made a début. This may be due, as Professor MacDougall suggests, to the Chinese "homogeneity or racial purity which have produced extreme stability, but at the cost of the variability which produces great and original minds." In the meantime, youthful mediocrity, surcharged with text-book knowledge of a republican principle, is playing with it. Give them time, and they will soon learn that translations from Russian or American speeches cannot rejuvenate a hoary Empire. Time alone gives wisdom to the simple. China's very chaos at present is in accord with her historic continuity. Every process in it takes more time than in Europe or America, longer than in Russia. To a Westerner Chinese history will become ever so much more intelligible, if it is presented on a chronologically reduced scale.

With these few cautions, Chinese brawls can be

grasped with as much comprehension as any exotic phenomenon.

IV

The next stage of man's general progress lies in his growing more universal in knowledge and in sympathy, in broadening his education so as to embrace the East and the West. Why should the contact of these civilizations be necessarily fraught with strife? The time is long past when a marriage was accomplished by a combat and a fight. The Sabines found it not worth while to continue fighting in order to keep their daughters at home, when they loved their Roman husbands and the husbands took care of them. All good things flow in and out of a country regardless of national barriers. I have often wondered whether my country or China would care to imitate the West, if the West had not itself imitated the Near East in religion, art and literature, in times long gone by. By imitating the West, the Far East thinks rather that it is taking back what it had invented and left unfinished. That is why Western things are so easy of comprehension to the Eastern mind, which has a long racial memory.

The East is daily becoming Western: its sons and daughters will consequently in due course of time assume that original global form of mentality. This looks flattering to the Occidental. Is it enough to be flattered? To be simply followed and adored does not benefit a nation. Greece

reaped no profit from the Renaissance; it has perhaps accelerated its decadence by attracting her best sons out of the country.

The great service of the Renaissance to European culture was in infusing a new blood of thought from the Levant and from the Past and in introducing the Gothic element, according to Spengler, from the North. Perhaps the coming World Renaissance will mean on the one hand the infusion of Western thought into Eastern, which is already begun, and of Eastern thought into Western, of which there is as yet but a faint beginning. Mr. Bertrand Russell has often reiterated that he went to China to teach but found things to learn. Nor is he the only man of this mind.

It is deeply to be regretted that many who deal with the impact of cultures and races start with the assumption that they are opposed and therefore antagonistic. How much of the mischief and ill-will will be saved mankind, if they approach the subject with the will to reconciliation and to peace.

The intellectual treasures of India have been greatly exploited though by no means exhausted. China has hoarded experiences enough of diverse kinds to enlighten newcomers. Remember how eagerly Turgot and Voltaire looked to that nation for lessons of social and political wisdom. And when Monsieur Romain Rolland says:—"There are a certain number of us in Europe to whom European civilization is not sufficient; there are some who look towards Asia,"—he has spoken for men like Keyserling and Rudolf Steiner, and for all those who are looking for the new heaven and the

new earth, not by adopting Asia as a son or as a teacher but by wedding her to Europe. Can the two be wedded? Can they really meet?

V

Far from their never meeting, the East and the West are always and everywhere meeting. Representing relative directions, they are meaningless when applied to regions; for they may even designate the selfsame locality. The Spaniard, proceeding westward from Seville and rounding Cape Horn, reached the Philippine archipelago and hence called them the *Islas de Poniente* (the Western Islands). The Portuguese, sailing eastward from Lisbon and coursing along the coast of Africa and still steering eastward, reached the Philippines and called them *Islas de Oriente* (the Eastern Islands).

Where, indeed, is the partition between the East and the West? At the best, it can only be artificial. The Washington Convention of 1884 adopted the meridian of Greenwich as the dividing line between them. Such a line is conventional in more than one sense. By the bull of Pope Alexander VI, the demarcation line was drawn at the 35th degree west longitude.

Wherever the partition may be made, when once made and publicly proclaimed, the human mind deceives itself with the belief that real differences exist on either side of it—like those innocent travellers, who, in crossing the equator, imagine

they can discern through a telescope the line in the sky dividing the north and south!

The terms East and West, when used in the domain of metaphysics, become positively mischievous, arousing in man's mind feelings of opposition, of hostility, and what is worse, of unwarranted superiority. If human character is affected by physical environment, as it certainly is, we should expect greater similarity between peoples living along the same isothermal lines than between those inhabiting longitudinally nearer regions. And Professor Huntington has actually produced plausible reasons for such similarity. To an Asiatic coming to Europe, the difference in the temperament of the Latins and the Nordics is most striking. This difference has defied the equalising effect of their common imitation of Greek and Roman culture, and of their adoption of the common religion.

Thanks, however, to the inheritance of classical culture and Christianity, Europe has been consolidated in thought and has attained a certain degree of unanimity, so that she can speak of the West—the Westerndom of the Positivists—as a cultural entity. Perhaps the epithet Christendom would better convey the fundamental character of European unity. Westerndom extended its dominion as far as the central plateau of Russia; but the Great War has apparently withdrawn its eastern boundary to the Carpathians. Quite recently has an Austrian dolefully said that Vienna is now the frontier between the East and the West.

Leaving alone for the present the exact boundary line, let us ask what it divides. Christian faith from the so-called heathen? Christian civilization from pagan? Such a dichotomous classification is convenient on account of its simplicity and apparent clearness; but it does little justice to the deeper facts of psychology. The people of the Far East look upon the so-called Near East as even more distantly removed from them than Europe. Certainly the Mussulman faith has more points in common with Christianity than with Buddhism. Arabian civilization can be linked far more closely, as Herr Spengler has done, with European than with Chinese. There are traits in Japanese character more akin to the Nordic than is the Nordic to the Mediterranean.

Sociologists and psychologists have not discovered in the ethnology of various races one-tenth the difference they have found in their ethnology. As to their moral calibre, the well-known lines contain in a condensed form the result of universal observations made of mankind in all parts of the world. Says a wise poet:

“The world in all doth but two nations bear,
The good and bad, and these mixed everywhere.”

Every attempt made to discriminate between the East and the West in their fundamental traits has failed. A study of such a work as that by Professor Roland B. Dixon, one of the highest authorities on Anthropology, upsets all our notions of the racial history of man. Why, it looks as though our species is so intricately mingled as to make any demarcation possible. It is true that one can easily

and superficially find marks of distinction; but they are never so peculiar to the one that they are not found in the other. Even in the religious faiths of Europe and Asia, which have for centuries been accepted as two poles of thought, modern studies discover mutual influences and remarkable similarities. The famous fourteenth chapter of Laotze hints at his knowledge of Judaism far back in the sixth century before Christ, and a recent writer surprises us by suggesting a possible connection between the Io of the Maori with the Jahveh of the Hebrews. Do we not discern strong analogies between the Essenes and Buddhists? Are there not undeniable traces of Gnosticism in some Buddhist scriptures? Yes, even in the religious faiths, which have divided most deeply the mentalities of the East and the West, the barriers are breaking down before the march of modern scholarship. If one can say of a Muscovite, "Scratch a Russian and he will show a Tartar," so also may one scratch an Occidental only to find an Oriental, and vice versa. In fact, if one be scratched only deep enough, he will show common humanity.

If, thus, the human mind is much the same everywhere, its productions must bear witness to its identity in the analogousness of their character, be it in art, literature, or institutions—nay, in manners and customs also. Present diversities in the life of nations seem at first sight to belie their original unity. They have dwelt in varied climes and under various conditions, physical and social, and have diverged accordingly; but research into their past

will prove their essential unity. Few branches of human knowledge have demonstrated the oneness of the human race more clearly than has archæology, by laying bare the mind of man before it evolved its instruments under changing conditions. Anyone, who examines the Andersen collection of ancient Chinese pottery in Stockholm, will be struck with its similarity to prehistoric ceramics of Europe. Scratch the soil of Europe and of America deep enough, and it will reveal Asia and Africa.

While the soil may be scratched anywhere to reveal the identity of the human mind, no spot will prove more fruitful than in the territory of art.

VI

When a Greek physician wrote "Art is long and life is short," he was thinking of his own profession in terms of time and not of space. Since his days, however, the implication of his aphorism has greatly widened.

All art deserving of the name, nowadays, is international. Hence the most local, not to say national, art finds its admirers elsewhere. Being the expression of that instinctive feeling of beauty hidden in the bedrock of the subconscious, it seems fundamentally common to the whole human race, and so delights all, if not in the same degree, in various ways sometimes unknown to the very authors. One need only mention the appreciation,

at first thought morbid, of the so-called art of the Primitives.

When oriental art was first made known to the West, it was naturally regarded as a mere outlandish and bizarre production. Speaking naturally as a Japanese, I must say that fifty and sixty years ago the Japanese themselves regarded their artistic productions as worthy of no particular attention. A smattering of Occidental knowledge in the middle of the last century made us veritable Vandals and Philistines. Sculptured images were sold by pounds avoirdupois for fuel. Even the serenity of the great Buddha of Kamakura aroused the lust for filthy lucre, thanks to the superior quality of its bronze. Avarice cast its eye up and down the majestic pagoda of Nara and actually proposed committing the whole structure to the flames, so that the useless wooden part might be destroyed without wasting labour, leaving only the coveted metals.

To the foreigners' appreciation of Japanese art, and to an American, Professor Fenellosa, above all others, is due the credit of putting a stop to the Philistinism of Modern Japan. It is only just to his memory to repeat that he was the greatest champion and exponent of Japanese art. When we speak of Vandalism and Philistinism rampant in the country, we must not forget that there were not lacking among us reverent lovers and followers of our art. Only they were powerless before the reckless outburst of vulgarity. The worshippers of Mammon are jealous and intolerant of other gods.

If the foreign regard for Japanese art has been one of the chief factors in rescuing it from destruction and oblivion, the awakening of the national taste and its encouragement by the State and by our Maecenas was but a natural consequence. Art, before it becomes international, must be national in its truest and deepest import. In other words, it must express the sense of beauty as it appeals to the artist within the technical resources and the racial traditions of his own people. He must first of all be true to himself and he cannot be false to the world. I can best illustrate my meaning by giving a concrete example.

Among the living painters of Japan, none excels Seiho (this is his pseudonym, his family name being Takenouchi) in technique or the conception of the subject matter. He belongs to the Old School and though far removed from him in many respects, he is a great admirer of Israel and of the Barbizon School. A rather significant incident is related of a picture from his brush. A well-known English artist was once taken to his studio in Kyoto by a resident American lady. As at the stranger's request, one *kakemono* after another was unrolled as examples of Seiho's work, the Englishman expressed his admiration; but when a small picture of a lily flower, drawn in a few strokes in Indian ink, was exhibited, the Englishman's admiration rose to reverence, which he uttered in a whisper to his American companion. Seiho, not understanding English, asked the lady what was said, and learned that to the Englishman's eye, "this picture showed virginal purity; that there was a woman's

soul in it." Seiho then explained the circumstances under which the picture was painted. Said he, "I have several children, and of them I confess I loved the little daughter who was named Yuri (Lily) best. But she passed away and it was on the anniversary of her death that I made this little sketch in order to give it to a friend who was very fond of her. I am astonished at the insight of this foreign gentleman."

When the explanation made in Japanese was translated to the English guest, he took the hand of the host and the two masters gazed at the chaste flower with tears rolling down their cheeks.

A simple story this, but a striking proof of the universal standard of beauty, transcending all technical canons of national æsthetics.

Art has always been called the handmaid of religion. Certainly its service can be enlisted in the cause of peace and of international understanding. Seiho declares that there exists a region of æsthetic wealth still untouched—a sort of no-man's land—lying between the confines of Eastern and of Western art. Whatever he means by such an unexplored region, he seems justified in the belief that art, to be truly universal, must develop beyond national bounds. Hence every effort put forth rightly to evaluate, to understand, to appreciate, an alien art, is a step toward the conquest of this unclaimed province. Should it fail to prove a conquest, such an effort will have at least the effect of enlarging the frontiers of his country's art and of simultaneously enriching the world at large by new discoveries. Japan has often been called the

land of art par excellence. Let us therefore ask how much hope there is for the development of international mind among her people.

VII

Two outstanding facts, known to every school-boy—one the geographical and the other the historical isolation of Japan—have for centuries kept her aloof from the rest of the world. The natural consequence has been an insularity of mental outlook, aggravated by a still narrower vision nurtured under feudalism. We must recall the fact that this institution was abolished in Japan only in 1871. For some ten centuries the nation was split up into several hundred liliputian states, and each barony and county was trained to be an Ishmaelite, with its hand against everyone. If man is a "political animal" the Japanese in these ages might well be compared to the proverbial frog in a well. But man is not a political animal only. He is more than that, and, moreover, the frog in his well can see the stars and note the movement of the sun.

Buddhism taught the infinite worth of the individual, the equality of man and the brotherhood of all mankind,—even the identity of all life. It recognised no race differences or national frontiers. To be sure, Confucius also taught that men in all the four seas of the universe are brothers, but there were other teachings of his that rather obscured this doctrine of universality. It is no difficult task to collect detached words from him or any other

teacher to prove that they were either nationalistic or cosmopolitan. In this matter, as in so many others, we may look to the Greeks for a parallel. Several passages in Plato and in Aristotle give an impression that they were upholders of hundred per cent Hellenism; but, as Monsieur Hermant, in his *Platon*, says, the Greeks were rather partial to things exotic. Xenophobia was not in the ancient Greek vocabulary.

It has been noted by the victims themselves, as a remarkable fact, that even during the period of very strict legal prohibition of intercourse with foreigners (17th, 18th and to the middle of the 19th century), those who, on account of storm or shipwreck landed on the Japanese coast were always treated with kindness by the common people and by officials as well, until these received contrary instructions from headquarters. The little group of Dutch merchants who were granted residence in Deshima, near Nagasaki, were, it is true, feared and watched, but never hated or abused.

Anti-foreign legislation was a policy dictated by autocracy entirely for political reasons, and was not an expression of popular feeling. This policy encouraged anti-foreign prejudice for State reasons. Prejudice fostered by man can be counteracted by man, and that easily, if, in the heart of hearts, there is no ground for it.

Not only did Buddhism and Confucianism teach our people the doctrine of universal brotherhood, in theory, but the fact that their first exponents in our country were Chinese, Koreans and Hindus induced on our part respect for alien races. It was

the same sort of sentiment entertained by the subjects of Peter the Great towards the Germans whom he had invited to instruct them.

The opening of the country to foreign trade, in 1854, was followed by an influx of Americans and Europeans, and with what reverence we greeted them! Every sailor and clerk seemed the embodiment of knowledge and wisdom. The admiration of Western civilization which still moves the Japanese mind is but the continuation of the veneration with which we sat at the feet of Chinese and Indian teachers in centuries gone by. There is an expression, of Chinese origin, in daily use among us: "A stone of an alien hill." No one nation has everything good within itself: treasures are divided among the nations of the earth. A country may possess precious gems, but these may give no lustre unless polished by stones quarried in another land. Where would Europe be if she had not gotten her religion from Judea, her letters from Phœnicia, her arts from the East? Do you call this imitation? I prefer to call it selection or transmission of culture.

A Japanese sage of the eleventh century, himself a profound Chinese scholar, is responsible for the motto "Chinese talents, Japanese spirit." We take what is good and useful in others, but at heart we remain true to ourselves. This being a well-considered principle, how can Japan isolate herself from the rest of the world?

In the so-called "Five Oaths" which the Emperor Meiji proclaimed as the guiding principle for his reign, it is stated that we should seek knowledge

in every quarter of the globe. This is a far cry from the snugness of feudalism! Japan's search for "the stone from alien lands" has by no means ended. On the contrary, it is growing wider and more earnest. This is the real ground and motive of her internationalism, which is clearly to be distinguished from cosmopolitanism. Thus, there are reasons why, apart from sordid commercial considerations, Japan cannot afford to be, and will not be, other than internationally-minded, unless provoked by hostile acts that may wound her pride.

We must not neglect another element in the psychological make-up of our people, urging them towards internationalism. Monsieur Hamy, Director of the Trocadero Museum, one of the foremost craniologists of his time, spoke of the Japanese as evidencing the greatest mixture of races. To the enquiry, "Which races?" he responded: "Every race under the sun, from the Negrito to the Caucasian, including the Mongol, the Malay, the Semite and the Celt—in fact, all shades of colour and all shapes of cranium." To a remark made whether this fact might explain the facility with which they adopt foreign thoughts and institutions, he replied in the affirmative, lending to it the weight of his scientific authority. Later study by Pittard and Dixon only confirms the great heterogeneity of the Japanese race, consisting of the Palæ-Alpine Proto-Negroid and Alpine types, with no small ingredient of the Caspian. Yes, this explains, at least in measure, why the Japanese, strongly nationalistic as they are, thanks to geographical and historical causes, are none the less able to

ignore national limitations, study the significance of changes going on in Europe, sympathise with America in her desire to restrict immigration, follow the general trend of world affairs, and think in world-embracing terms. It is true you can never argue a Japanese out of his nationalism, but you can readily lead him into internationalism.

How, then, lead him? There is no nearer way than by the school-house.

VIII

In Oriental literature one frequently meets with an allusion to a vessel of water as a metaphor for the elasticity of the human mind which assumes the shape of the receptacle in which it is put. Whoever employs the metaphor scarcely concerns himself whether the water is pure or muddy; for that matter it may be wine or any other liquid. We have allowed our surroundings to shape our souls. Monsieur Tarde's law of imitation acts more exactly than "the law written on the fleshly tablet of the heart." There is, however, consolation in the assurance that the human mind will yield to its milieu, and a far greater consolation in the fact that some individual minds will not stop at yielding merely but will go beyond the examples before them. Would that some philosopher take up the work where he left it and demonstrate the law of emulation, which exalts imitation to a power in no wise inferior to originality. At least one of the laws of emulation seems to be contained in the parable of the new wine in an old wine-skin.

The world is in need of a new educational ideal, by which is meant a new type of humanity. Each nation has been moulding her sons and daughters in her own form for her own uses, blinding them to the welfare and services of a larger community. How detrimental this system of narrow nationalistic education has been to the world at large, the Great War has amply shown. That education has always been conducted with one eye directed to a warlike end, offensive or defensive, is implied in the oft-quoted sayings, "The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton," and "It was the schoolmasters of Germany that won the victory of Sedan," etc., etc. In this respect few countries have, I presume, a more illuminating record of education than Japan. It was fifty years ago that her system of compulsory education was first put into execution. Statistics, which anybody can personally verify by visiting schools, show that of children of school age (six to twelve years of age) 99.41 per cent. of boys and 99.19 per cent. of girls actually attend classes. It is a common sight that surprises a foreign tourist in Japan, when he sees labourers looking ill-fed and in rags, reading a newspaper or a pamphlet by the wayside, during their hour of rest. It is by education that Japan has been moulded into spiritual homogeneity. It is by education that she has attained the height she has at present. It is by education that she has learned not only to imitate but to emulate the West. How much further education will carry us, is to us a serious, and to outsiders an interesting, question.

Looking back on the half century of our education

I discern three distinct phases of its development and I see signs of our now entering the fourth phase.

(1) In the first days of our "modern" education, by which I mean the early seventies, imitation of the West was its keynote. We had to get out of our skin, as it were. Three centuries of isolation had tightened it so fast that it required a severe operation to free us. We found that fine arts and Confucian ethics, which were the mainstays of our culture, would not check European encroachments upon our shores. We must fight them with their own weapons. Hastily did we shelve Chinese classics and Japanese poems and betook ourselves to Western learning. English scholar-books were adopted without much discrimination. Some radical educationists declared unless we changed our native language for some Western tongue we could never compete with Europe and America. Happily this period of irrational imitation did not last many years; but it was soon followed (2) by years of rational imitation, imitation conducted with a definite purpose, and on a definite plan, in order to fill up the gap which was left in our social system and in our philosophy by the older teachings of Chinese or Buddhist classics. Did we fill up the gap? Yes, gaps in the domains of jurisprudence, of constitutional government, of utilitarian ethics, of economic theories, of medicine and chemistry, mechanics and engineering, of improved weapons and warfare. Passively we absorbed them all, and we even put them into practical test without adding much of our own invention. The West is our Teacher and in the Orient, a teacher is venerated only next to parents.

This reverence we so ardently paid to the Occident was justified by the intrinsic superiority of its scientific resources, and it would have deprived us of every modicum of self-respect and independence, of thought were it not for (3) the period of healthy reaction which set in about the middle of the eighties. The reaction was marked by no rash revolt against the continued introduction of Western sciences. It consisted rather in assimilating them for national ends; hence though it sometimes wore a threatening look of anti-foreign proceeding, no foolish demonstration impeded its course. Under this régime, more hours in schools were devoted to Japanese language and Japanese history. Children were told more of their grandmothers' fairy tales than of Andersen's and Grimm's. For them names of old heroes were resuscitated to take the place of Alexander and Cæsar, of Napoleon and Washington. Nationalism reigned supreme and the curricula of primary and secondary schools as well as of the universities were so framed as to instil in the youthful minds, patriotism and loyalty to the Emperor. Thus from imitation, blind or purposeful, we passed into the period of emulation. Shall we stay here? Is this nationalism the highest principle to strive after? Should an educational system be so contrived as to mould human souls into definite forms?

The weakness of a pronouncedly nationalistic education is, however, becoming more and more evident. Some pedagogists put a query to several thousand schoolchildren which they considered their most important duty. An overwhelming majority

answered:—"To serve the Emperor and to love the country," and only a small number thought of "telling the truth," or "loving their parents or friends." A story is even told of a thief, who, breaking into a house, saw the portrait of the Emperor and he bowed reverently to it, then left with a loadful of spoils. The Spartan-like education of which we used to boast, is becoming too Spartan.

Already voices are audible that man is more than a citizen and a subject, and that he has other duties besides those he owes to his sovereign and his country. Society may be likened unto a vessel; but an educational system should not ignore a receptacle larger than a state or a nation: neither should it neglect the character of its contents, whether it be water or wine.

We are now on the verge of a new era in education. Despite some Chauvinists in high places, the liberal spirit is gripping the more thoughtful minds. Perhaps Japan is more happily situated than many countries in Europe. She did not suffer by the War as they did: and hence there is preached no Gospel of Hate nor of Revenge. Economically she came out of the War richer than when she went in, and she was convinced more strongly than before of the value of foreign trade. Moreover, the War brought the West nearer to her than ever in her history. Look at the thousands of Japanese—students, officials, business men—travelling all over Europe and America. More important than all these reasons there is, if I see aright, a force which is working for the spiritual elevation of our race.

Calamity has always a sobering and deepening effect upon a sensitive people. The earthquake of 1923, and a number of other natural catastrophes, brought home to the consciousness that we are not exactly the beloved of the gods. We have fought with formidable enemies and always conquered them; but the favours of Mars are blinding, often alluring his votaries with illusions of supermanhood. Nature's visitations, on the contrary, are timely warnings for our people. She made them feel subdued, without being crushed, wounded without being beaten, humbled without being humiliated. The great earthquake cost Japan as much as a big war: but it left no aftermath of hate and revenge: rather did it widen human sympathy, called forth sentiments of brotherhood with all the peoples that suffered in the War. Japan has thus drawn herself into the suffering community of nations. She looks upon no nation as a hypothetical enemy. "The same ailment draws its victims close," as our adage has it. She is ready to share their burdens, to contribute her mite to their weal. The new pioneers of our education feel a fresh throbbing of the pulse. There are abundant and tangible proofs of the awakening of the new international spirit in our education—proofs that the Chauvinistic wine-skin is tearing, proofs that the new receptacle to receive that spirit is to be the spacious world itself.

Mod. Japan ^{modern} preparedness for great change ^{transformation} 14-

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to Body of Chinese Wall
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